THE GEOGRAPHY OF KcALIDASA

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis submitted herewith has been drawn up by me without any aid from any person except in so far as I have derived from books and maps. Wherever any such aid has been taken, I have acknowledged it by furnishing full references. I have introduced some novelty either of treatment or of subject-matter in almost every section of my thesis, but the following sections may be pointed out for their special originality, sometimes in treatment, sometimes in clearing up the vague and indefinite conclusions of previous workers in the same field and sometimes in working out new conclusions for myself; *viz* the sections dealing with Kālidāsa's conception of the world (§2-6), countries and places outside India, known to Kālidāsa (§7-10), the Flora, Fauna and people in the Himālayas (§13,14), Kanvāśrama (§16), Kanakhala (§17), Uttara-Kośala (§19), Śūrasena (§20), Vālmīki's Hermitage (§21), Pāndya (§30), Malaya (§31), Aparānta (§33), Pārasikas (§35), Greeks (§36), Hūnas (§38), the Western Nations (§37), Kāmbojas (§39)

Of the works of Kālidāsa, I have used the following recensions and editions —

1 *Raghuvamśa*—I have used Stenzler's edition with Latin notes, but as his readings have been consulted by, and do generally agree with, those of, G R Nandargikar, I have referred to this latter edition in my thesis All my references to *Raghu* are to—*Raghuvamśa*, edited by G R Nandargikar, Third Edition, *[The Ms is missing—Ed]*

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"How supremely beautiful is this earth",—exclaims Kālidāsa through the hero of his greatest work. He looks at the earth with the eyes of a poet—one of the greatest the world hath ever seen—and every object on its face is to him 'a thing of beauty' and 'a joy for ever'. Beauty in its multitudinous manifestations,—in shape, size and form, in movements and attitudes—every element of the picturesque, strikes the strings of his fancy and creates a music the like of which the world has not heard very often. In almost everyone of his verses there is a beautiful image taken from nature. Everywhere he describes with great love and power the objects of nature,—the wide sea or the lofty mountain, the rivers, valleys and dales, the trees and creepers, the beast and the fowl. But what conception had he of the earth as a whole?

II KĀLIDĀSA'S CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

§2. *The Earth. Its shape and Form*

Kālidāsa had no definite conception of the earth as a whole, of its shape, size and form or configuration, or of the situation of the different countries in it. Of its general shape he seems to have some vague conception that it was round. He never speaks definitely of the earth as triangular, or rectangular, square or round. But we may form, from some of the epithets that he applies to the earth, some idea of his conception of it. He speaks of the earth as *udadhinemi* (in *medinīmudadhinemim*—*R* ix 10), or *samudranemi* (*R* xiv.39)—"that which has the ocean about it like the rim of a wheel": *this would suggest that Kālidāsa thought of the earth as a round object with the sea* as a girdle about it, almost in the same way as the Greeks thought of their "External Ocean". In the same way, Kālidāsa also speaks of the earth as the girdle or zone worn by Indian ladies round their hips, as we have it in the following expressions: *ratnākaramekhalām pṛthivīm* (*R* xv 1)—'the earth having the ocean, the receptacle of precious objects, as a zone round it', or again, *samudrarasanā vasundharā* (*R* xv 83), or *samudrarasanā urvī* (*Śak* iii). This last expression is also found in some recensions as *samudravasanā* or "having the ocean about it like a piece of cloth (wrapped round the body)"; we have this image also in *sāgarāmbarām* (*R* iii 9). We have another description of the earth in the passage *velāvapravalayām parikhīkṛtasāgarām urvīm* (*R* i 30)—"the earth of which the sea-beach forms the encircling ramparts and the sea the moat." Here, however, as also in the third group of images we have set forth before, the earth is not necessarily a round object as is suggested by the first two sets. But, on the whole, it appears that Kālidāsa conceived the earth not merely as a superficial area,

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but as a round spherical object, though his ideas in this respect were as yet vague and not so clearly defined as with the great Indian scientific astronomers of about the same period as Kālidāsa, viz. Āryabhaṭa and Varāhamihira. Varāhamihira died in A.D. 587, and Alberuni says he wrote one of his works in A.D. 505 [1] About the date of Kālidāsa, the general opinion is that he flourished in the fifth century (See Mr. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p.304). Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī, who has very recently discussed the subject at great length from internal evidences in the pages of the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* (Vol ii.pp.31-34) has expressed the opinion that Kālidāsa lived "at the latter half of the period between 404 and 533 A.D."[2] Kālidāsa may, therefore, be taken to be a contemporary of the great astronomers according to the dictum of Mm. Śāstrī, or, at least, to have lived about the same time as they. Āryabhaṭa was born in A.D. 476 as he himself tells us in his *Siddhānta*, the *Āryabhaṭīya*, ch. II, verse 12—[See Kern's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, Intro. p.57].

Āryabhaṭa says in his *Siddhānta* :—

vṛttabhapañjaramadhye kakṣyā parivesṭitaḥ khamadhyagataḥ /
mṛjjalaśikhivāyumayo bhūgolaḥ sarvato vṛtaḥ //
yadvat kadambapuṣpagranthiḥ pracitaḥ samantataḥ kusumaiḥ /
tadvadvividhaiḥ sattvairjaladaiḥ sthalaśaiśca bhūgolaḥ //[3]

"In the spherical hollow of universal space, surrounded by the orbits (of the planets), and situated in the sky is the globe of the earth full of earth, water, fire and air and surrounded on all sides (by things upon it). Even as the central bulb of a *kadamba* blossom is surrounded on all sides by flowers, just so the globe of the earth (is surrounded) by various kinds of animals born on land and in water." Varāhamihira also says in his work, the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, ch. xiii, verses 1-2 :

pañcamahābhūtamayastārāgaṇapañjare mahīgolaḥ /
khe'yaskāntāntaḥstho loha ivāvāsthitovṛttaḥ //
taruṇagaṇagarārāmasaritsamudrādibhiścitaḥ sarvaḥ /[4]

Even the astronomical works that are decidedly older than the time of Kālidāsa, such as the *Vāśiṣṭha Siddhānta* (Kern, *op.cit.* p.46) and the *Paulisa Siddhānta* (Kern, *op.cit.* p.50) declare that the earth is round and hanging in space :

Vāśiṣṭha Siddhānta : jagadaṇḍamadhyasthā mahābhūtamayī kṣitiḥ /
bhavāya sarvasattvānāṃ vṛttagolaiva sthitā //[5]

Paulisa Siddhānta : vṛttā cakravadacalā nabhasyapāre vinirmitā dhātrā.[6]

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1. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, ed. Kern (Calcutta, 1865), pp. 2 & 3, Introduction.
2. JBORS ii. 34.
3. Quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, ed. Mm. Sudhakar Dvivedi (Benares, 1895) Vol. i, p. 58.
4. *Ib.* p, 57.
5. *Ib.* p. 58.
6. Ib., p. 57.

The period when Kālidāsa lived was one of great activity and progress in the mathematical sciences and astronomy[7] As Mr Kaye says—'the period when mathematics flourished in India commenced about A D 400 and ended about A D 650 , and that Kālidāsa had studied deeply in astronomy is apparent from the fact that he refers so frequently to matters that require more than a superficial knowledge of that science Thus, I quote only a few of the innumerable passages containing reference to astronomy —*haridaśvadīdhiteranupraveśādiva bālacandramāh—R* iii 22 (it is as pointed out by Mallinātha, a reproduction of the idea contained in the *Brhat Samhitā* iii 2, Kern, *Br S* p 17—*salilamaye śaśini raverdīdhitayo* etc), *chāyā hi bhūmeh śaśino malatvenāropitā (R* xiv 40) *tithau ca jāmitragunānvitāyām (Ku* vii 1)—[this shows his familiarity with the highly technical term *jāmitra* which was borrowed from Greek *diametron*] *yāvadangārako rāśimivānucakram prati gamanam na karoti (Māl* iii)

Having regard to all these facts the high level of astronomical culture in his time and the apparently deep study that Kālidāsa had made of this science we might expect Kālidāsa to show a little more exact and scientific knowledge of the form and shape of the earth but we must not lose sight of another equally important fact of Kālidāsa's period , viz, that there was a conflict, as it appears in the mind of the poet between the statements of the *rsis* as contained in the Śāstras and the discoveries of the scientific astronomers like Āryabhata and Varāhamihira This struggle is apparent in the *Brhat Samhitā* itself, where the author "is in the awkward position of a man who has to reconcile the exigencies of science and the decrees deemed infallible, of the *rsis* The result of such an attempt is not satisfactory" (Kern, *op cit* , preface, p 27) It is no wonder, therefore, that where an expert like Varāhamihira failed, an amateur like Kālidāsa should mix up the two sets of ideas We know that Milton, though fully aware of the Copernican conception of the universe, yet stuck to the older Ptolemaic system for the exigencies of his poetry

§3 *The Earth Its Support*

As regards the position of the earth Kālidāsa accepts the fanciful account given in the Purānas (and the astronomical works) He speaks of the earth as being held up on the hoods of the nāga Sesa, as in gāmadhāsyat katham nāgo mrnālamrdubhih phanaih/ā rasātalamulāttvamavālambisyathā na cet // (Ku vi 68) The Saptarsis say addressing Himālaya, "How could the Nāga support the earth on its hoods, tender like the stalks of the lotus, unless you supported it with your roots striking down to the lowest regions" [Also in *rasātalādironmagnam śesam (R* xii 70)—Śesa risen from the nether regions] Then he thinks the earth as the middle region between *svarga* or heaven above and the nether regions, *pātāla* or *rasātala* below e g he

7 See V A Smith *Early History of India* 3rd ed p. 304

speaks of king Dilīpa as the *madhyamalokapāla* (*R*. ii 16)—"the protector of the middle region". Besides the two passages mentioned above many others might be quoted to illustrate his reference to the lower regions—e.g. : *bhujaṅgapihitadvāraṃ pātālamadhitiṣṭhati* (*R*. ii.16), *rasātalaṃ saṃkramite turaṅge* (*R*. xiii.3), *pātālamadhyagāt* (*R*. xv.84) etc. The *pātālas* are said to be seven in the Purāṇas. E.g. : atalaṃ vitalaṃ caiva nitalaṃ sutalaṃ tathā/talātalaṃ rasātalaṃ pātālaṃ cāpi saptamam // *Brahmapurāṇam* (Ānandāśrama edition., ch. xxi, verses 2-3). The *svarga* or heaven is spoken of in passages too numerous to mention : we may only generally refer to Act vii of *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* where Duṣyanta comes down from heaven, or to *Vikramorvaśīyam*, where Purūravas and the Apsarasas (the courtezans of heaven) pass freely up and down between heaven and earth.

§.4. *The Conception of the Mountain Lakāloka*

Kālidāsa also referers to the mythical mountain, Lokāloka in : *prakāśaścāprakāśaśca lokāloka ivācalaḥ* *R*. i.68)—"I am both bright and dark like the mountain Lokāloka." The conception of Lokāloka is that it is a vast mountain range that surrounds the world at its farthest extremity and stands so high as to prevent the light of the heavenly bodies from passing beyond it on the other side. E.g., *Vāyupurāṇam*, ch. lix, verses 142-148 (Ānandāśrama ed. Poona, 1905). Cf. also the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, translated by H.H.Wilson, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. ii (1865), p. 203 : "Beyond the sea of fresh water is a region of twice its extent, where the land is of gold, and where no living beings reside. Thence extends the Lokāloka mountain which is ten thousand *yojanas* in breadth, and as many in height, and beyond it perpetual darkness invests the mountain all around ; which darkness is, again, encompassed by the shell of the egg".

A similar account is given in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. cxxiii, verses 45-48 (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1907) in the *Bhāgavata* (translated by Wilson, *op. cit.* p.205) and also in the other Purāṇas, but the account in the *Vāyupurāṇa* seems the fullest.

§.5. *The Conception of Meru and the Varṣapari*

The Purāṇas have been also followed by Kālidāsa in his belief in the mythical Meru. E.g. in the verse : sarvātiriktasāreṇa sarvatejo'bhibhāvinā/sthitaḥ sarvonnatenorvīṃ krāntvā merurivātmanā //—[*R* i.14], where he refers to the all-surpassing firmness, the all-transcending lustre and all-exceeding height of the Meru. He speaks of Aja and Indumatī in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (vii. 24), and again of Hara and Pārvatī in the *Kumārasambhava* (viii. 79), while the couple in either case was going round the sacred hymeneal fire, as : merorupānteṣviva vartamānamanyonyasaṃsaktamahastriyāmam/—i.e. like the day and the night touching each other on the sides of the Meru, the idea being that day and night are made by the revolution of the sun about the Meru, so that while one side receives the light of the day, the other side is in the darkness of night. He also speaks of the high golden summit of Sumeru : uccairhiraṇmayaṃ śṛṅgaṃ sumeroḥ

(*Ku* vi 72) and the same idea of Meru made of gold burnished bright and smooth like a mirror so as to reflect the *kalpa* tree, is found in the verse nepathyadarśinaśchāyā tasyādarśe hiranmaye/virarājodite surye meru kalpatarorīva // (*R* xviii 26)

The same fact of the Meru being of gold is referred to in the *Kumārasambhava* where the *asura* Tāraka is spoken of as building hills for sport in his own houses by breaking the peaks of Meru utpātya meruśrnāni ksunnāni haritām khuraih / ākrīdaparvatās tena kalpitāh svesu veśmasu (*Ku* ii 43, or 42 according to the Travancore ed of Pundit Ganapati Śāstri) cf *Padmapurānam* (Ānandāśrama ed, 1893) Ādikānda ch iii verses 26,27 and 33 "The mountain Mālyavān stands extended towards the east, after it is the mountain Gandhamādana Between the circles of these two mountain ranges stands Meru the mountain of gold, shining like the rising sun, like fire free from smoke The sun, the greatest of the heavenly bodies, the moon with the stars and the wind go round this mountain keeping it to the right ' Exactly the some account in the same words is given in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhismaparva, ch vi verses 9,10 and 16, Bangvāsī ed cf also the *Mārkandeya Purāna* translated by F E Pargiter, *Bibliotheca Indica*, pp 275 282, for an account of Meru and the neighbouring regions Almost the same account in almost the same language is found in the other Purānas cf *Matsyapurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed) ch cxiii, verses, 3-7 ff parimandalayormadhye meruh kanakaparvatah etc., *Vāyupurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed) ch xxxiv, śloka 36 ff, *Agnipurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed) ch cviii, verses 9 ff, *Brahmapurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed) ch xviii, verses 13 ff

From these accounts it will be seen that Meru is described as the centre of chains of lofty mountain ranges on every side, and that these mountain systems stretch from it to the sea It seems that this myth of the Meru represents an insufficient knowledge of that wilderness of mountains to the north west of India in the Pamirs, from which issue out grand mountain ranges on every side Two other mythical mountains are referred to by Kālidāsa mountain Gandhamādana, of which we have an account in the passage from the *Padmapurāna* quoted above, is mentioned in gandhavad gandhamādanam (*Ku* vi 46) gandhamādanagirim (*Ku* viii 28) The other, Nisadha, is found in anūnasāram nisadhānnagendrāt (*R* xviii,1) Nisadha is one of the Varsaparvatas in Jambudvīpa (*vide Mahābhārata* Bhīsmaparva, vi 4, *Brahmapurāna* xviii, 6 etc) The *Vāyupurāna* describes it as tarunādityavarnābho hairanyo nisadhah smrtah (ch xxxiv, verse 14) We have in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhismaparva, ch vi, (Bangavāsī ed, also the Kumbakonam ed)

prāgāyatā mahārāja sadete varsaparvatāh /
avagādhya hyubhayatah samudrau purvapaścimau //3
himavān hemakūtaśca nisadhaśca nagottamah /
nīlaśca vaiduryamayah śvetaśca śaśisannibhah //4
sarvadhātupinaddhaśca śrngavān nāma parvatah /
ete vai parvatā rājan siddhacaranasevitāh //5

Cf the *Vāyupurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed) ch xxxiv, verses 23 24

Of the six *varṣaparvatas*, Kālidāsa has mentioned in his works three : Niṣadha, mavān and Hemakūṭa. The comparative measurements of these mountains, we have the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch.c, verses 21-25.

§.6. *Seven Islands, Oceans and Regions*

Kālidāsa also refers to the seven islands and seven oceans and seven *lokas* of the ıythical geography of the Purāṇas, eg. 'in resting on the waters of the seven oceans and he sole refuge of the seven worlds' (*R.* x.21) ; 'the earth with the islands' (*R.* i.65). he seven oceans and seven islands are described in every Purāṇa : for example, we ıave them in two verses in the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama ed.) ch. xviii, verses 11-12. The *dvīpas* (islands) are Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka and Puṣkara ; hese islands are encircled by seven oceans respectively, viz. the ocean of salt water, of sugar-cane juice, wine, clarified butter, curdled milk, milk and pure water. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* gives the same list in exactly the same language (*vide* Baṅgavāsī ed. part ii, ch. iii, verses 5-6). The same account is found in all the Purāṇas ; cf. Pargiter's *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p.275.

Kālidāsa in one passage speaks of eighteen islands : aṣṭādaśadvīpanikhātayūpaḥ (*R.* vi.38). These eighteen islands are referred to in *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama ed.) ch. ii, verse 15 : 'We have heard that Purūravas, on account of his greed, was not satisfied with the precious articles even though he enjoyed the eighteen islands.'

Kālidāsa also refers to the four oceans in : catasraḥ caturarṇavopamā vidyāḥ (*R.* iii.30)—'the four branches of learning resembling the four oceans.' The four oceans here spoken of appear to be those in Jambudvīpa while the seven spoken of before were in the whole of the world separating the seven great divisions (*dvīpas*) of it. Parāśara, the author of a very ancient work on astronomy which is quoted[8] from by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and other works, says : 'More than forty thousand *yojanas* is Jambudvīpa, and there are four oceans' (quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ed. by Mm. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares 1895, part i, p.286) ; cf. *Kādambarī Pūrvabhāga* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., p.7)—'lord of the earth girt in by the four oceans' (Trans. by C.M. Ridding. p 3).

III. COUNTRIES AND PLACES ETC. OUTSIDE INDIA KNOWN TO KĀLIDĀSA

§.7. *Persia, China, etc.*

Of the countries of the world outside India, Kālidāsa had very little knowledge.

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8. Varāhamihira quotes Parāśara five times in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and twice in the *Bṛhajjātaka*. Kern's *Bṛ. Saṃ*, preface p. 32.

He had heard of the Persians (Pārasikas), and the Hūnas on the Oxus in Bactria, these two we shall deal with afterwards The Chinese he also knew by the principal article of import from their country, viz, silk e g cīnāmśukamiva ketoh prativātam nīyamānasya / (*Śak* act i, last śloka)—'like the China cloth of a banner carried forward by the wind', and again we have the same thing referred to in : tat cināmśukaih kalpitaketumālam / (*Ku* vii 3), 'the city was adorned with rows of pennons of China-silk' Mallinātha here explains *cīnāmśukaih* by *pattavastraih*, and he is quite right As Lassen says, speaking about the commerce of the Indians in the fifth and sixth and centuries "The silk they (the people of India) obtained from China [9] (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vierter Band, Leipzig, 1861, p 883) That there was a very lively trade with China at this period we know from the account of Chinese pilgrim Fa hien,[10] who at the port of Tāmralipti 'embarked in a large merchant vessel and passed to Ceylon, and thence again 'he took passage in a large merchantman on board of which there were more than 200 men [11] and reached Java and finally got to China by embarking in another similarly large merchantman [12] There is also evidence of the flourishing trade between China and India in the Chinese dynastic records We read in the *Sungshu* or 'History of the Sung Dynasty, written about A D 500 and embracing the period 420-478, chapter 97 "As regards Ta-tsin (Syria) and Tien Chu (India) far out on the Western ocean, we have to say that although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea There are lofty (ranges of) hills quite different (from those we know) and a great variety of populous tribes having different names and bearing uncommon designations, they being of a class quite different (from our own) All the precious things of land and water came from these, as well as the gems made of rhinoceros' (horns) and king fishers stones, *she-chu* (serpent pearls) and asbestos cloth, there being innumerable varieties of these curiosities, and also (in devotion to) the lord of the world [*thth chu*=Buddha], all this having caused navigation and trade to be extended to those parts"

Similarly we find in the *Liang shu*, or the history of the Liang Dynasty who reigned in Southern China from A D 502-556—"Since the accession of the Liang Dynasty, they, (the Indians, Romans &c), have come over the sea every year for acquitting themselves of the duty of tribute in greater number than in any former times",[13] this so-called payment of tribute was nothing but the accredited method of carrying trade with China (vide *JRAS*, 1896, pp 64-66)

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9 The writer is responsible for the translation

10 *A Record of Buddhistic Kingd ms* tr James Legge Oxford 1886, p 100

11 Legge's *Fa-hien* p 111

12. *Ibid* pp 113-4

13 Tr by W P Groeneveldt in *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China*, 2nd Series Vol I p. 128

§.8. *Hemakūṭa*

There are some semi-mythical mountains that have been mentioned by Kālidāsa. One of them is Hemakūṭa, 'the mountain with gold-glittering summits'. It is upon-this mountain that the drama of *Vikramorvaśīam*[14] opens, as we learn from the statement of the *apsarasas*, the companions of Urvaśī, that they would wait for Purūravas on the summit of Hemakūṭa *(imasmiṃ hemkūḍasihare, Vk.* i.19) and it is there that he comes back after recovering Urvaśī as we know from the king's words : "O Fair one, your friends are looking at your face from Hemakūṭa"; and again, in Act ii, Urvaśī refers to the Hemakūṭa *saṃhi tadā hemaūḍasihare* etc. (*Vk.* ii.56). A description of Hemakūṭa is given in the talk between Duṣyanta and Mātali in *Abhijñāna Śakuntalaṃ.* The king asks—'Mātali, what is this mountain that plunges into the Eastern and the Western oceans and looks like the clouds at evening and from which flows out a stream of liquid gold ?' And Mātali answers that it is the Hemakūṭa where the Prajāpati Mārīca has his hermitage (āyuṣman, eṣa khalu hemakūṭo nāma kiṃpuruṣaparvataḥ etc). It is there that the king meets Śakuntalā.

The Purāṇas agree with Kālidāsa in the description of Hemakūṭa as plunging into the Eastern and the Western oceans.

From these descriptions it appears that the Hemakūṭa is the name of a range of mountains lying just beyond the Himālaya parallel to it and extending like it between the Eastern and the Western oceans. From these facts I guess that the Hemākūṭa represents the Trans-Himalayan ranges discovered and explored by the Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin.[15]

§.9. *Kailāsa*

Beyond Hemakūṭa stands Kailāsa. It is mentioned in most of the works of Kālidāsa ; e.g. *paulastyatulitasyādreḥ* (*R.* iv.80) ; *ekapiṅgalairau* (*Ku.* viii 24) ; *kailāsanāthaṃ* (*Vk.* prastāvanā) ; Kailāsa reflected in the dark Yamunā's waters (*Vk.* act iii, etc.). But the work where Kailāsa is described at great length is the *Meghadūta* (verses 58-70). Unlike the other mountains to the north of the Himālaya mentioned by Kālidāsa, Kailāsa is a well-known mountain, where pilgrims, Hindus and Buddhists, go in fairly large numbers. The Swedish explorer visited it and has given a description of it. In his map Kailāsa stands about 81°28' E and 31°N and he gives the height as 21,818 feet. It is the Kang-Rinpoche of the Tibetans. He says, "Pilgrims come hither (to Kailāsa) to pace slowly and in deep medtation, the 28 miles round the navel of the earth, the mountain of salvation" (Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya.* vol. ii,p.197). He also observed some

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14. *Vikramorvaśiyam* ed. S. P. Pandit, 3rd ed., revised by B. R. Arte, Bambay 1901.

15. Vide *Trans-Himalaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, Seven Hedin. Macmillan 1913, 3 vols.

pilgrims measuring all the way round Kailāsa with the length of their body; and he goes on to remark: "The stranger also approaches Kang-Rinpoche with the feeling of awe. It is incomparably the most famous mountain in the world. Mount Everest and Mont Blank cannot vie with it". (*ibid.*, p. 198). Sven Hedin thus summarises the mythic accounts of Meru and Kailāsa: "According to the ancient Vedic books, Asia lay floating as a lotus blossom (*padma*) on the surface of the ocean. The blossom had four petals, and the one pointing south was India. Amidst the mighty mountain summits which fructified the earth with their rivers stood Meru, the mountain of the Gods, the loftiest elevation in the world, like a fruit gem in the middle of the flower. Meru included the whole high region which extends northwards from India All Tibet belonged to it. Not only the Aryan Hindus raised their hands to the mountains from which, according to their belief, their help came, but other people also living in the surrounding lands lifted their eyes to the mysterious heights. To the Burmans the snowy land is the dwelling of the departed after death, and even the Chinese have claimed the Kwen-lua part of Meru as the abode of their oldest saints. From this Meru flow five enormous rivers, the Ganges, the Indus and the Oxus to the South and West, the other two to Siberia and China. Threefold ranges of mountains border Meru on the south and north. The three on the south are: Himavān or Himālaya, close to India; Hemakūṭa, or the mountain with gold-glittering summits; the third, 'The Best among the Mountains', serves as the throne of Indra, the god of rain and storms, who launches the glistening bridge of the rainbow across the vault of heaven after he has made his thunder rumble over the earth. This third range is Kailāsa, the paradise of Śiva, the home of the gods. Beyond the holy lakes and beyond the holy sources of the Indus, Sutlej, Brahmaputra, Ganges and Jumna it lifts its sunlit head above a country unmatched on earth for lofty majesty and grand solitude."[16]

Sven Hedin refers also to the account given by Kālidāsa. After quoting from Wilson's translation of *Meghadūta* (60 ff.) he comments: "The tresses are the clouds, the costly train is the Ganges, which girdles Alakā, and which, therefore, in Kālidāsa's poem is supposed to have its source on Kailāsa. It is little more than a hundred years since this erroneous view was definitely confuted. The Yaksa exhorts the cloud-messenger, after his task is accomplished, to end his long journey on the summit of Kailāsa in the from of an elephant. Among the Tibetans, too, whose wisdom is borrowed from India, the elephant plays a certain part in this country. In the Nyandi monastery at the western foot of Kailāsa, two elephants' tusks, *langchen-[illegible]*, are set up before the altar, all that the monks could say about them was that they had been there as long as the monastery itself. A monastery on the northern shore bears the name of the elephant, Langbo-nan, and finally, the Sutlej, which periodically flows out of the lake, is called Langchen-Kamba, the elephant river."[17]

16 *Ib* Vol. iii, p 116
17 *Ib* Vol. iii, p 193

§.10. Mānas Sarowar

The lake, Mānasa or Mānas Sarowar is also described by Kālidāsa with great accuracy. He[18] speaks of the 'golden lotus-covered lake': *hemāmbhojaprasavisalilaṃ mānasasyādadānaḥ* (*Me.* 62); he compares the blue sky to the clear blue water of Mānasa: *saṃprasīdadiva mānasaṃ saraḥ* (*Ku.* viii.64); he refers to it in *racitamānasormayaḥ* (*Ku.* viii.86). Mānas Sarowar is found in Sven Hedin's map at about 81° 30′ E, 30° 10′N, almost due south but a little to the east of Kailāsa. The present level of the lake is 15,098 feet above the sea (Sven Hedin, *op.cit.*,p.113). Of turquoise bule water of Mānasa and of its supreme beauty, he speaks in raptures. He says, "To the right of our route the turquoise-blue surface of the holy lake is displayed; how beautiful, how fascinating is the scene. One seems to breathe more freely and easily, one feels a pleasure in life, one longs to voyage over the blue depths and the sacred waves. The lake is sacred in the eyes of Lamaists also, who call it Tso-mavang or Tso-rinpoche, the Holy Lake. How can Mānasa and Kailāsa be the object of divine honours from two religions so different as Hinduism and Lamaism unless it is that their overpowering beauty has appealed to and deeply impressed human mind, and that they seemed to belong rather to heaven than to earth? Even the first view from the hills on the shore caused us to burst into tears of joy at the wonderful magnificient landscape and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake, somewhat narrower in the south than the north and with a diameter of about 15½ miles, is like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and most famous mountain-giants of the world, the Kailāsa in the north and Gurla Man-datta in the south, and between huge ranges, above which the two mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow. Yes, already I felt the strong fascination which held me fettered to the banks of Mānas, and I knew that I would not willingly leave the lake before I had listened, until I was weary, to the song of its waves."[19] Again, in another place he exclaims—"There is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Mānas Sarowar, Kailās and Gurla Mandatta; it is a turquoise set between two diamonds. The grand impressive silence which reigns around the inaccessible mountains and the inexhaustible wealth of crystal-clear water which makes the lake the mother of the holy rivers, the toilsome rocky paths that lead thence over the heights of the Himālayas, everything has aided in rendering from ancient times this wonderful country one of the most holy pilgrimage resorts or *tīrtha* of the Hindus."[20]

In his works Kālidāsa refers to the migratory habits of the *rājahaṃsas*, 'the Swans'; but properly the wild geese. He speaks of the geese as residing about the time of the advent of the rains, for a few days only in the Daśārṇa country in Central India:

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18. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, with the commentary of Vallabhadeva, ed, E. Hultzsch, London 1911. All my references to the *Meghadūta* are to Hultzsch's edition.

19. Sven Hedin, *op.cit.* Vol.ii, pp.110-11.

20. *Ib.* p.189.

tiayyāsanne sampatsyante katipayadinasthāyi hamsāh daśārnāh (*Me* 23), and again we read that with the breaking out of the monsoon, the geese become eager to go to Mānasa and would follow the trace of the clouds up to Kailāsa · *śrutvā te tu śravanasubhagam garjitam mānasotkāh ā kailāsādbisakisalayacchedapātheyavantah/sampatsyante rabhasi bhavato rājahamsāh sahāyāh //* (*Me* 12) In the *Vikramorvaśiyam*, Purūravas exclaims on hearing a twinkling sound, that it is the cackle of the geese longing for Mānasa on seeing all sides dark with clouds *meghaśyāmā diśo drstvā mānasotsukacetasām kūjitam rājahamsānām* (*Vik.* iv.27)

He refers again to the birds longing for Mānasa *mānasotsukāh patatrinah* (*Vik.* iv 10) Kālidāsa leads his cloud-messenger through the Krauñca pass, forming a door, as it were, for the geese to pass through, and which was formed by Bhrgupati or Paraśurāma *prāleyādrerupatatamatikramya tāmstān viśesān hamsadvāram bhrgupati yaśovartma yat krauñcarandhram/tenodicim diśamanusareh* (*Me* 57) "The Krauñca pass, or defile in the Krauñca mountain, is said to have been made by the arrows of Bhrgupati or Paraśurāma who was educated by Śiva on Mount Kailāsa, and who thus opened himself a passage from the mountains upon the occasion of his travelling southwards to destory the Ksatriya or military race" (Wilson's *Meghadūta*, 2nd end. p 58, see also Wilson's *Visnu Purāna*, p 401) The *Vāyu Purāna* and the *Mahābhārata* speak of the Krauñca mountain as a son of Himavān which was pierced by Skanda *bibheda sa śaraih śailam krauñcam himavatah sutam/tena hamsāśca grdhrāśca merum gacchanti parvatam* (*Mbh* Vanaparva, ch ccxxiv, verse 33, Bang ed) In Śalyaparva (ch xlvi, Bang ed) it is said that the Asura Bāna sought refuge in the Krauñca mountain and therefore Skanda in pursuit of him pierced it That the geese pass through the Krauñca pass is referred to in the Dronaparva (ch cxxxix Bang ed) *hamsāh krauñcamivāviśan* It is not possible to identify with any exactitude the pass which Kālidāsa means His cloud-messenger enters the Himālaya near Kanakhala and Hardwar In his journey towards Kailāsa he has the option of crossing through a number of passes which are thus described by Bernard and Hayden "The Zaska range, being the water porting between the Kumaun, Himālaya and Tibet, is crossed by a great number of well-known passes the Lipu Lekh (16 750 ft) in south of the upper Karnali basin, and near the conjunction of the Zackar and the Great Himālayan ranges The Manghang, Lankpya and Dharma passes are about 18,000 ft, the Untadhura is slightly below 17,500 these passes lead to Tibet out of the basin of the Kali The Kingri Bingri (18,300 ft), the Balchha (17,500 ft), the Shalshal (16,200 ft) the Silikank (18,000 ft) and the Niti (16 500 ft) are all passes across the water porting between the Dhauli affluent of the Alakanandā and Tibet, and they by no means constitute a complete list. The Mānā pass (18 000 ft) called also the Dhungri or Bhirbitiya, is at the head of the Sarasvati affluent of the Alakanandā The Muling pass (height unknown) crosses the water porting between Bhāgirathi and Tibet" [21]

21 Vide *A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet* S G Bernard and H H Hayden p 92

Mm. H. P. Śāstrī seems to have identified the Krauñcarandhra with the Niti Pass,[22] which is one of the passes mentioned above.

After passing through the Krauñca pass, as Kālidāsa points out to his cloud-messenger, the geese are seen sporting in the water of a tank near the Manas Sarowar: yasyās toye kṛtavasatayo mānasaṃ sannikṛṣṭam/nādhyāsyanti vyapagataśucas trām api prekṣya haṃsāḥ (*Me.* 73). Sven Hedin found the geese in Mānasa and the lakes in the neighbourhood in spring. He says—"He (Kālidāsa) speaks in lofty verse to the messenger which sends his proud thunder rolling among the hills and is accompanied by the royal swans, the rājahaṃsas, who migrate to the Mānasa lake when the rainy season begins in India. In the language of poetry the wild geese which make their nests every spring on the islands of Rakastal are styled swans."[23]

In the month of March, Sven Hedin saw that the wild geese had commenced their migrations towards the cold lakes in the hills. On March 30, near Ladungla (17,395 ft. 85°E 31°N) he writes, "The wild geese had now commenced their migrations and we constantly heard their cries."[24] In July or August (1907) he saw on Mānasa that "the wild geese swam with their young ones out into the lake" (*ibid.*, vol ii, p. 123), and again he sees one day that "two flocks of geese are swimming on the water producing diverging ripples (*ibid.*, vol ii, p. 149)

Even so late as September 14, when he was coming down from the source of the Indus in the north of Kailāsa, he met a lake, and he writes, "Out on the lake a flock of ducks were quacking" etc. (*ibid*, vol iii, p. 10). These geese must have been loiterers reluctant to leave the picturesque scenes where they were, until cold forced them southward; they were due to make their appearance in the Ganges by this time. Kālidāsa had seen them there in the autumn which commences in September: haṃsamālāḥ śaradīva gaṅgām (*Ku.* i.30).

22. *JBORS* Vol.i, Part ii, p.202.
23. Sven Hedin. *op cit.* Vol.iii. p.192.
24. *Ib.* Vol.ii. p.321.

IV. KĀLIDĀSA'S GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

A. § 11. General Remarks

Kālidāsa possessed, as we have seen above, a very imperfect knowledge of the shape and form of the world and of the countries and people of the earth outside his native land. But of India his knowledge was accurate and detailed. He was familiar with every part of India, its characteristic features and natural products.

India has very well been called an epitome of the whole world, extending as it does through thirty degrees of latitude and possessing all varieties of climate and vegetation ranging between arctic and tropical ; wide fertile plains extend on the one hand, and burning deserts on the other ; it has the loftiest mountain system of the world on the north, while on the other sides the wide sea offers a coast board of a total length of about nine thousand miles ; it is drained by a large number of the most magnificent rivers ; its flora and fauna embrace a wide variety of types ; and in one part you meet with people who have reached the zenith of human civilisation, in another part you meet savages hardly raised from the brute creation in intelligence and culture. With all this extraordinary variety of physical aspects, natural products, and types of birds, beasts and human beings, Kālidāsa was perfectly familiar as we shall proceed to show now, so that the conviction grows within us that the poet must have had a personal acquaintance with all parts of his own country.

B. The Himālayas

a. § 12. General Description and its Mineral Earth.

Let us begin our account of Kālidāsa's India with his description of the great and lofty mountain chains that bound it on the north. "There is in the north", says he in the opening verse of his *Kumārasambhava*, "the supreme lord of the mountains going by the name of Himālaya, the 'Snowy Range' par excellence, a veritable god in essence". That is how he looks at it. The Himālaya is to him not merely a lifeless and inert mass of rocks, but a veritable god, nay one who, of all beings in the entire universe, deserves to be accorded the high honour of giving his daughter for union with the *Parameśvara*, the God of Gods ; so awful and deep are the impressions produced by the glorious sight that the Himālayas presented to his poetic mind. He exclaims: pituḥ pradeśās tava devabhūmayaḥ (Ku v. 45)— "the regions of your father are *devabhūmis*, the sacred spots of the bright ones, the *devas*". Modern geographers would give the name of the Himālayas to the mountainous regions enclosed by the arms of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, stretching in a curve of about fifteen hundred miles. But Kālidāsa puts the Himālayas within wider limits. He says, pūrvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ : 'plunging into the Eastern and the Western oceans and standing like a rod measuring the earth'. Thus it includes the Nāgā

and the Paṭkoi ranges on the north-eastern frontier, and the Hindu Kush, Suleiman and Kirthar ranges on the north-western. It is the mountain whose sides are 'silvered with eternal snow' : gauram tuṣāraiḥ (Me 52, edition by Hultzsch), and where the Kinnaras have to walk upon a road on which the snow had hardened to stone : mārge śilībhūtahime'pi yatra (Ku i, 11), but this 'ice could not blight its beauty' : himaṃ na saubhāgyavilopi jātam (Ku i. 3). The poet hints rather indirectly at its height : manasaḥ śikharāṇāṃ ca sadṛśī te samunnatiḥ (Ku vi. 66)—'the height of your mind and of your peaks is quite alike' ; and again he refers to its lofty height in ucchirasā tvayā (Ku vi. 70). The poet had observed that the clouds do not rise higher than about the middle zone of these lofty heights : āmekhalaṃ sañcartāṃ ghanānām-ku (Ku i. 5), they stand like screens at the mouth of the caves : darīgṛhadvārvilambibimbās tiraskariṇyo jaladā bhavanti (Ku i. 14), that sometimes they rain down a dreadful shower of hail-stones : tān kurvīthās tumulakarakāvṛṣṭipātāvakīrṇān (Me 54, Hul.), and sometimes they 'descend with a thousand friendly streams to put down the forest flames' : arhasy enaṃ (davāgniṃ) śamayitum alaṃ vāridhārāsahasraiḥ (Me 53). Kālidāsa is specially impressed with the coloured mineral earth of various parts of the Himālaya ; Raghu's horses kicked up a cloud of the dust of minerals on it : uddhṛtair dhātureṇubhiḥ (R iv. 71) ; it bears on its peaks red minerals so brilliant in colour as to produce the appearance of an untimely evening by tinging the clouds with their effulgence : yaḥ śikharair vibharti valāhakacchedavibhaktarāgām akāla sandhyām iva dhātumattām (Ku i. 4). The attendants of Śiva (*gaṇāḥ*) were besmeared with red earth by lying down upon rocks overspread with Śaileya, a bitumen : manaḥśilāvicchuritā niṣeduḥ śaileyanaddheṣu śilātaleṣu (Ku i. 55).

§ 13. *Flora and Fauna of the Himālayas.*

On the Himālaya grows the deodār that shoots a lofty stem high up and at which the elephants brushing their heads let out the sap which makes the slopes filled with its fragrance (Ku i. 9), and Raghu's war-elephants were tied to them (R iv. 75) or their trunks rubbing against each other gives birth to a forest fire (Me. 53). The dried and hardened sap of the deodār forms a well-known incense, *dhūpa*. There also grow the *nameru* trees with their wide branches in whose shadow rested the soldiers of Raghu (R iv. 74). The *gaṇas*, the attendants of Śiva, wear the flowers of the *nameru* at their ears or on their heads (Ku i. 35). The other plants that the poet notices on the Himālaya are the birch trees, the bark of which produced in olden times a widely used material for writing upon, and the bamboos ; here the birch barks were written upon with the red mineral fluid (Ku i. 7) and the wind rustles through the dry leaves of the birch trees and produces notes by entering into the hollows of bamboos (R iv. 73 and Ku i. 8). And he refers to the birch bark as supplying a wearing material also : bhūrjatvacaḥ sparśavatīr dadhānāḥ (Ku i. 55). Besides these trees there are some small shrubs or herbs (*oṣadhayaḥ*) that emit light by night and serve the purpose of lamps without oil : āsannoṣadhayo naktam asnehadīpakāḥ (R iv. 75) and bhavanti yatrauṣadhayo rajanyām atailapūrāḥ suratapradīpāḥ (Ku i. 10). This refers to certain herbs that give out a sort of phosphorescence in the darkness. Kālidāsa calls the city of

Himālayas, Osadhiprastha, 'the Tableland of herbs', which had phosphorescent herbs in its walls vaprāntarj valitausadhi (Ku vi 38) and there the women going to their amours on cloudy days were guided by the light emitted by them yatrausadhiprakaśena naktam darśitasañcarāh / anabhijñās tamisrānām durdinesvabhisārikah (Ku vi 43)

Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Meghadūta* definitely speaks of the Western Himālayas, and the trees mentioned by him are peculiar to that region There are ' forests of Deodār, *Pinus longifolia* (a comparatively rare plant in Sikkim and there only tropical)"[25]. And again, we read in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol i, p 169) "the absence of any true pine or cypress in the forests of this (the Eastern) region of the Himālayas is notable, in contrast with similar elevations in the Western Himālayas' The *nameru* is a species of oak of which there are six varieties[26] in the Western Himālayas, and of *Bambuseae* to which Kālidāsa's *kicaka* belongs, there are seven in the same regions[27] Two birches are found in the Himālayas and are common to both the Eastern and the Western regions[28] The *sautānaka* (Ku vi 46) and *kalpadruma* (Ku vi 41) are mythical trees

Of the animals on the Himālaya, we have already noticed the wild elephant "Elephants are still found wild in places along the base of the Himalayas, as far west as Dehra Dun" (*Imp Gaz* 1907, vol i, p 230) Besides, Kālidasa speaks of the deer He says, the cool wind shaking the deodārs is enjoyed by *kirātas* pursuing the deer kampitadevadaruh / yadvāyur anvistamrgaih kirātaih / āsevyate (Ku i 15)

This is perhaps 'the haugal or Kashmir stag (*C Cashmirianus*) that inhabits the pine forests of Kāshmir between 9,000 and 12,000 feet above the sea in summer, coming lower in winter',[29] or the sambar which 'occurs in all the hill groups of India, ascends the Himālayas in places to 9,000 or 10,000 ft '[30] Kālidāsa refers also to the musk deer the rocks upon it are sweet scented with the musk at the navel of the deer drsado vāsitotsangā nisannamrganābhibhih (R iv 74), surabhitaśilam nābhigandhair mrgānām (Me 52), prsthapm himādrer mrganābhigandhi kiñcitkvanatkin naram adhyuvāsa (Ku i 54) It is 'the hornless musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferous*) which is common in the Higher Himālayas and in parts of Central Asia It is chiefly known as the source of musk which is the secretion formed in a glandular sac on the abdomen of the male In winter about an ounce of musk is obtained from each animal'[31]. Kālidāsa also speaks of the *camari* or the wild yak he refers to the bushy tail of the yak (camarībālabhārah—Me 53) that forms an essential part of the paraphernalia of kings (Ku i 13 and i 48) This is 'the wild yak (*Bos Grunniens*) which is peculiar to the Tibetan plateau, and only just comes within Indian limits in the Kashmir territories, but tame yaks are kept throughout the higher Himālayas'[32]

Kālidāsa speaks of the lion as a native of the Himālaya . when Raghu marched up the Himālaya with his army, the lions in the caves only turned their heads and looked at them indifferently without showing any fear at the din caused by the soldiers [illegible] tulyasatvānām sainyaghose'py asambhramam / guhāśayānām simhānām parivrtyāvalokitam (R iv. 72) When King Dilipa was tending the cow Surabhi, she entered into [illegible]

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25 'Imperial Gazetteer', 1907, Vol, I, p 173 26 Ib., p 173 27 [illegible]
28 Ib., p 173 29 Ib , p 236 30 Ib 31 Ib , p 237 32 [illegible]

the Himālaya (R ii. 26) and a lion preyed upon her (R ii. 27) and again the bull of Śiva bellowed loud unable to bear the roar of the lion (K i. 56). In the *Kumārasambhava,* he says that the *Kirātas* could track the lions by following the line of pearls scattered from their claws (Ku i. 6). So that it appears that at the time of Kālidāsa there were lions in the Himālayas. But the lion is now almost extinct in India. 'The lion was formerly found throughout the greater part of North-Western and Central Himālaya. In the early part of the nineteenth century lions occurred in Hariana, Khandesh and Rewah, and as far east as Palamau, whilst up to 1860 or 1870 many existed in Kathiawar and parts of Rājputana. Now the last remaining Indian lions are said to be confined to the Gir in Rajputana'[33].

Kālidāsa in one passage speaks of the *gavaya* (Ku i. 56) ; it is certainly "the Gaur (bison of Anglo-Indian sportsmen) which is a magnificent animal, almost the the finest, if not actually the grandest, of living bovines......... This noble wild bovine is found in all the great hilly forest tracts of India"[34]. Kālidāsa may have also in his mind the Gayal or Mithan, which though scientifically a little different from the Gaur, is hardly distinguishable from it and is considered by some as a domesticated race of the Gaur, and are scarcely now found in a wild state.

Kālidāsa speaks of another animal in the Himālaya, the *śarabha.* It 'is a fabulous animal, described as possessing eight legs, and of a fierce intractable nature. It is supposed to haunt these mountains (i.e. the Himālayas) especially'.

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33. Ib., pp. 217-8. 34. Ib., p. 231-2.

§ 14 People in the Himālayas (i) The Kirātas

Besides the *Devas*, *Gandharvas Kinnaras* and similar mythical beings, Kālidāsa speaks specially of two classes of human beings, viz the *Kirātas* and the *Utsavasanketas* in the Himālayas The kirātas are mentioned by Kalidasa as a hunting tribe going in pursuit of deer and other animals, anvistamrgaih kiratath (Ku i 15), and in the *Raghuvamśa* we are told that the kirātas could learn the height of Raghu's elephants by the height of the marks made on the bark of the Deodar trees by the ropes with which they were tied to them (R iv 76) Again, Kālidāsa speaks of the kirātas discovering the tracks of lions by following the line of pearls of the elephants killed by them (Ku i 6) This passage also shows that the kirātas, being naturally hunters, were interested in all animals, especially the elephants, and naturally they observed them very carefully In the *Vikramorvaśiyam* (Act v, p 140), we find a kirātī (a female kirāta) serving the king and giving him some information about the precious stone stolen by a bird In the passage quoted above from the *Raghuvamśa*, the scene of action is probably in the Western Himālaya, but in the passage from the *Kumārasambhava* there is no such limitation,—the description applying to the Hamālaya in general In the *Mahābhārata*, (Dronaparva ch iv, verse 7 both Northern and Southern recensions), we read himavaddurganilayāh kirātā ranakarkaśāh / duryodhanasya vaśagās tvayā karna purā krtāh Here the kirātas are represented as living in forts in the Himālayas and as being hardened fighters, and as having been brought under Duryodhana by Karna In the same (Drona parva)[35] we read that the kirātas had formerly presented elephants to Arjuna and were expert in the training of elephants In the Vanaparva[36] also the Himālaya is spoken of as inhabited by kirātas and kinnaras In the Śāntiparva[37] they are spoken of among the barbarous people in northern India and are mentioned in company with tribes in the north west

Just after getting into the Himālayas from Hardwar, the Pāndavas got into the king dom of Subāhu, which must therefore be in Garhwal and there they found it full of kirātas and other hill tribes[38]

On their return journey from Kailāsa they again reached, just after leaving Badarī, the kingdom of Subāhu, which is there spoken of as kirātarājño visayam subāhoh (Vana, ch 177 v 11)

The Kirātas are found also in other parts of India than the Himālayas in chapter xiv of the Sabhaparva[39] they are mentioned with eastern races and in ch xxvi[40] they are found

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35 Ch cx of the Bangavasi ed., verses 27 30 Southern recension, Ch. cxii, verses 29 32
36 Ch xc, verse 20 (Bang ed) 37 Ch cxvii verses 43-4 (Bang ed),
38 Vanaparva Ch cxl verse 25 39 Bang ed verse 20 40 Ib, verse 9

in the retinue of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa. Seven of their kings were vanquished by Bhīma while he was in Videha or Tirhoot[41].

Bhīma then proceeded to conquer the Suhmas. The *Vāyupurāṇa* places them in the extreme east of India (ch. xlv, verse 82, Anandasram ed). They were also vanquished in the North West by Nakula. This agrees with the statement of Varāhamihira who says in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* that the kirātas lived in the west (ch. xiv, verses 17, 18; Kern p. 90). They are also placed by him in the North East (*Ibid* v. 30, p. 92). They attended the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira and are described as living on fruits and roots and wearing skins and as ferocious warriors doing ferocious deeds (*Mahābhārata*, Sabhā, lii. 9) and there also we read that ten thousand of kirātīs were brought as female attendants (*Ib.*, verse 10). From this passage and also from the fact of a kirātī being the attendant of Purūravas[42] it would appear that the kirātas were fair complexioned and hardy, so as to be employed on sentry work in the harem. Śiva, whose complexion is represented as pure white, could easily disguise himself as a kirāta, as his complexion agreed with that of the kirātas, specially as he wore the skin of an animal like them. And it is reasonable to conclude that the name kirāta was applied to the numerous fair-complexioned hill tribes of the yellow coloured Mongolian race that lived in all parts of the Himālayas and also in the hills in the east, such as the Bhutiyas, Lepchas, Limbees, Kanets etc. Mr. Pargiter has observed about them, 'The kirātas formed a series of allied yet distinct tribes or clans; it is almost impossible that tribes so widespread could have been homogenous'[43].

They were at various stages of civilisation, sometimes organised into a kingdom, sometimes living the life of hunters with nothing to wear but the skins of the animals they killed and having no agriculture. Kālidāsa does not speak of any fight between them and Raghu, as he does in the case of other hill tribes, showing that in his time there was no organised state of the kirātas.

This is further supported by the description of the kirātas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* : Sugrīva tells the army of Vānaras proceeding towards the east that they will meet the kirātas that wear pointed knots on the head, had a golden hue, and were beautiful to look at : kirātās tīkṣṇacūḍāś ca hemābhāḥ priyadarśanāḥ (Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, ch. xlv, 27, Nir. ed)[44]. The gold-like yellow complexion of the kirātas is also very beautifully described in the following verses of the *Mahābhārata* :[45]

bhagadatto mahīpālaḥ senām akṣauhiṇīṃ dadau /
tasya cīnaiḥ kirātaiś ca kāñcanair iva saṃvṛtaṃ //
babhau balam anādhṛṣyaṃ karṇikāravanaṃ yathā /

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41. Ib., Ch. xxx, verse 15

42. We may observe that the hill-women, specially form Sikkim, are employed as maids by Anglo-Indians. 43. JASB, 1897, p. 109.

44. Sugrīva also speaks next of Kirātas living in islands who ate raw fish. (Ib., verse 28).

45. Uddyogaparva, Ch. xix, verses 15-16 (Bang. ed.).

§ 15 *People in the Himālayas (ii) the Utsavasanketas*

The next people we meet with in the Himālaya are the utsavasanketas,[46] a mountain tribe organised into several republican communities These Parvatīya Ganas offered a very terrible fight to the all conquering hero, Raghu, so much so, that by the mutual concussion of the darts, spears and stones, flung in the combat, fire flashed forth : tatra janyam raghor ghoram parvatīyair ganair abhūt / nārācaksepanīyāśmanispesotpatitānalam (R iv 77) Kālidāsa says by a pun upon the name of the *utsavasanketas*, that they were made to desist from their *utsavas* or festivities, and Raghu obtained a victory over them, the glory of which was sung in the hills : śarair utsavasanketān sa kṛtvā viratotsavān / jayodāharanam bāhvor gāpayāmāsa kinnarān (R iv 78) They then came with presents in their hands to offer to the conquering hero and the richness of these presents made him understand the strength of the Himālaya, or there may be a suggestion that the mountain, i e by inference these mountain people, the utsavasanketas made Raghu feel their strength, just as they were struck with the might of the puissant monarch from the plains parasparena vijñātas tesūpāyanapānisu / rājñā himavatah sāro rājñah sāro himādrinā // (R iv 79)

It is evident here from the context that these Parvatīya Ganas were republican communities, and Mr K P Jayaswal in his paper on *Hindu Polity* in the *Weekly Notes* and his articles on *Republics in the Mahābhārata* in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (vol i, part ii, pp 173 178), has sufficiently made it clear that in Hindu codes of law the Ganas were not industrial corporations, but non monarchical or republican communities Here, of course, it would be absurd to take the word in any other sense Mallinātha quotes a verse from the *Mahābhārata* ganāny utsavasanketān ajayat sapta pāndavah This is from the Sabha Parva, from the Digvijaya or expedition of conquest of Arjuna[47]. Here Arjuna was proceeding in his expedition fighting with kings and races in the Himālayas : he had vanquished the great heroes in the mountain and then defeated a Paurava prince, perhaps an adventurer who had established a colony there and also a number of robber tribes residing in the hills, then he vanquished the seven republican communities of the utsavasanketas and next he met the Ksatriyas in Kashmir[48] Here it is clear that the seven communities of the utsavasanketas are to be placed in the neighbourhood of Kashmir to its immediate east in the Himālayas This also agrees pretty well with their position as suggested in the *Raghuvamśa*, as Raghu ascended up the Himālaya just after defeating the Kāmbojas at the north west corner of India, partly outside its borders There were similar other republican communites in the Himālayas, because, we read in the same chapter of the Sabhā Parva as we have quoted from, that Arjuna conquered there in the course of his conquest from the Eastern Himālayas the country of the Pañca-Ganas or the five communities who apparently lived in five republican groups just as the utsavasanketas lived in seven And we know from the Buddhist books that to the north of the Ganges and in the

46 Mallinātha in his gloss makes the Parvatīya Ganas (mentioned in R iv 77) identical with the Utsavasanketas in the next verse, and apparently that is the meaning.

47 Sabhā Parva, Ch xxvi, verse 16 (Bang. ed.) and Ch. xxvii of the Kumba ed.

48 Ib., verses 13 17

Himālayas there lived many peoples in highly organised and powerful republics, such as the Vṛjis, from one of whose sections, the Licchavis, sprang the Imperial Guptas and the Kings of Nepāl[49].

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, writing in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* has identified the utsavasaṅketas with the Tibetans on the strength only of a very faint resemblance in sound between the words *utsavasaṅketa* and the names of certain Tibetan provinces, specially Ut-schang, a name applied to the two central provinces of Tibet or Tibet proper. He says, 'Kālidāsa mentions the Tibetan as *utsavasaṅketān*[50], which is a Sanskrit word formed by the combination of the names of the Tibetan provinces bordering on India—U. Tschang, Bostan and Khotan'[51]. With all due respect to the high authority of the savant, I would venture to submit that this is hardly convincing. Nothing seems to have been further from the mind of the poet. Raghu has not to cross the Himālayas into Tibet to meet the utsavasaṅketas, but rather he came down from the hills, neglecting to lead an expedition to Kailās and thus putting it to shame (R iv. 80), but planting his glory firm there (i.e. on the 'Himavat', which comes from the previous verse) he came down from the hills (R iv. 80). This shows clearly that he did not cross over to the northern side of the Himālayas but came down from it after vanquishing the tribes upon it. Nor is it known that the Tibetans ever lived in republics. Then again the utsavasaṅketas are found in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas to live in other parts of India besides the Himālayas. Nakula, after going towards the West from Khāṇḍava-prastha and crossing the desert vanquished the Daśārṇas, Mālavas, and, then turned again and vanquished the utsavasaṅketas living in the Puṣkarāraṇya, and then the elders of the villages on the Indus, and then he proceeded to conquer the whole of the Pañcanada[52].

This shows that the utsavasaṅketas lived also in the Puṣkarāraṇya in Rajputana. A section of the utsavasaṅketas are enumerated in the Bhīṣma Parva, ch. ix, among the people living in the South. This places this tribe of the utsavasaṅketas with races living towards the south of central India. They are mentioned in the same region in the *Padmapurāṇa* also[53]. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* places a people called saṅketas in the Madhyadeśa about the same regions on the slopes of the Western Vindyas and the Aravallis[54].

In the enumeration of the people of Bhāratavarṣa the utsavasaṅketas are placed in the North[55] and also again in the West and South[56].

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49. 'Buddhist India' by T. W. Rhys-Davids, London 1903, p. 40 and pp. 17-41.

50. JBORS, March 1916, p. 36. This is the form in which the word has been put by Mm. Sastri.

51. Alexander Csoma de Koros says, however,—'The three great divisions of Tibet are : 1. Tibet Proper, or U-Tsang ; 2, K'ham-Yul, or the Eastern part of Tibet ; and 3. Nāri, or the North-Western Part of Tibet' : JASB, New Series, Vol. vii, Extra No. 190, p. 2, extracted from JASB Vol. i, p. 122 (1882), and the inhabitants of Tibet are distinguished thus : 'Pot-pa' (or U-Tsang-pa) means a native of middle Tibet ; 'K'hampa' (or K'ham-ba), one of eastern Tibet ; 'Nāripa', one of western Tibet' (Ib. p. 1).

52. Sabhā Parva, Ch. xxxii, verses 8 & 9 (Bang. ed.),

53. Ādikāṇda, Ch. vi, verse 56 (Ānanda. ed.).

54. Bang. ed., Ch. lviii, verse 8. Pargiter 'Bib. Ind.', p. 53.

55. See Pargiter's 'Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa' p. 319. 56. Ib. p. 337.

Kālidāsa hints at the probable etymology of the name by saying that Raghu made the utsavasaṅketas desist from their *utsavas* or 'festivities' by means of his arrows. The word *saṅketa* in technical legal phraseology means 'the regulations entered into by the members of a corporation', and the name utsavasaṅketa would suggest that these people won this peculiar appellation for themselves owing to some special or striking rules that they had for the regulation of their corporation. Even now, we know the trade guilds at Ahmednagar and in Gujarat have special rules for their festivities as for everything else ; one caste guild has a peculiar rule about the celebration of their marriage-rites by which the marriages (sometimes numbering as many as a thousand) of all the marriageable couples in the caste take place at the same time and place.

(*d*). § *16. Kaṇvāśrama on the Southern slopes*

Kālidāsa places the scene of his greatest drama in the slopes of the Himālayas. The hermitage of Kaṇva where king Duṣyanta met Śakuntalā was situated on the bank of the stream of Mālinī : eṣa khalu kāśyapasya kulapater anumālinītīram āśramo dṛśyate[57]. Again the king says that in the heat of midday, Śakuntalā generally passes the fiercely hot noon on the bank of the Mālinī where there are groves overspread with creepers (Act iii, p. 73) and in the same act there is a reference to the stream Mālinī (*Ib.* p. 74). The situation of the hermitage is learned from a statement of the old superintendent of the king's harem who reports to him : 'Hermits residing in the forest in the valley of the Himālaya mountain have come with some females with a message from Kāśyapa'. (Act v. p. 143). That the hermitage was about the foot of the Himālayas is also evident from the words of the king, who says in Act vi, that he must show in the portrait of Śakuntalā, her proper surroundings, viz. there should be shown the stream Mālinī with a pair of swans on the sandy bank, and near it the foot of the Himālayas with the deer lying at ease (Act vi. p. 200).

The king had come on a hunting expedition to the place ; therefore it could not have been very far from his capital Hastināpura. This is also evident from the fact that Śakuntalā, though with child, yet could walk on foot from the hermitage of her foster-father. The name of the capital we get from a statement of Priyaṃvadā : 'the *ṛṣis* going to Hastināpura are making a noise'. (Act iv. p. 117). The *ṛṣis* with Śakuntalā started early in the morning and they reached the capital when the day was considerably advanced in as much as the king had already left the court and Kañcuki shrinks from disturbing his well-earned rest. In any case, the distance between Kaṇva's hermitage and the capital was not very great.

We get some details about the situation of the hermitage from the *Mahābhārata*, and they agree fairly well with those extracted from the drama. We read there about Duṣyanta that he saw the forest where subsequently he met with Śakuntalā, at the distance of two *yojanas* from his city[58] and wandering through the forest he at last reached the *āśrama* or

57. Abhijñāna Śakuntalam, ed. Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar, 2nd ed. Act i, p. 10.

58. Mahābhārata (Kumbh. ed) Ād parva, Ch. lxi, verse 2.

hermitage of Kaṇva on the river Mālinī[59]. Then, again, we read that Menakā left the newly born Śakuntalā on the river Mālinī in the slopes of the Himālaya[60].

Hastināpura, the capital of the Pauravas, was situated on the bank of the Ganges ; at present it is a small village in the Meerut district. It has given its name to a whole Pargana. We read in the *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces* (Vol. iv, Meerut p. 242): 'The place which gives its name to the Pargana (of Hastināpur) is a village which lies in longitude 78° 1′ E, on the high bank of the Purhganga, in a somewhat remote tract at a distance of 6 miles N. E. of Mawana, 22 miles from Meerut. It consists of two portions of which that to the north is known as Hastināpur Patti-Kauravan, while the southern half is called Hastināpur Patti-Pandavan. Both of these are practically uninhabited, the only habitation being the temple built within recent years by Saraugis...There are also the remains of an old fort, but no trace of the famous city of ancient times. This is only to be expected, as the whole of Hastināpur was washed away by the Ganges. A small fair is held at the time of the full moon of Kartik and is attended by about 5,000 persons'. From this Hastināpur two *yojanas*—as mentioned in the South Indian recension of the *Mahābhārata*—or over 18 miles[61], would take us to the forests at the foot of the Himālayas, and Kaṇva's hermitage could not have been far from it, on the slopes of the mountain.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find that the messengers sent by Vaśiṣṭha to bring Bharata from Girivraja, the capital of Kekaya country in the Punjab, followed the Mālinī for some distance and then crossed the Ganges at Hastināpura, and then travelled towards the west[62]. It is evident from this passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the Mālinī flows to the east of Hastināpura, and we do indeed find a river Mālinī there even at the present day. We read in the *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces* (Dt. Bijnor, Vol. xiv, p. 216) : 'Through the north-west of the Pargana flows the Mālinī, a river of considerable size, which closely follows the Mandawar boundary. The river has cut for itself a deep and wide bed, in which the channel wanders from side to side, seldom doing any injury to the fields above the flood bank. Near its junction with the Ganges, it unites with the *khar* of the latter river, which consists of a belt of level ground, but slightly inferior to the Malin valley'. It must have been down the valley of this Mālin that Śakuntalā came to Hastināpur and to the court of king Duṣyanta. Griffith, following Lassen, says in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, 'The Mālinī must have been the western tributary of the Saraju, now called Chuka' (Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. ii, p. 497). But the presence of a river Malin in the neighbourhood which agrees in every respect with the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other books, does away with the necessity for any such guess. Another Kaṇvāśrama is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[63]. This is placed on the road

59. Ib. verses 21, 29.
60. Ādiparva, Ch. lxxii, verses 10-1. (Bang. ed.). Also Ch. xciii, verses 15 and 18 (Kumbh. ed.).
61. Dr. J. F. Fleet demonstrates in the JRAS, 1912, p. 236 that 'In ancient India there were two "yojanas" of specific lengths, namely, a short "yojana" of 16,000 hasta or 4·5 miles and a long "yojana" i.e. of 32,000 hasta or 9·09 miles. The long "yojana" was the general Indian "yojana".'
62. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. lxviii. verses 12-13 (Nir. ed. & Kum. ed.).
63. Vanaparva, Ch. lxxxii, verses 45-6 (Bang. ed.)

between Puṣkara or modern Pokhar and Mahakala at Ujjein; and then one goes to the Narmadā.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. i. pt. ii, p. 201) says, 'In the *Śakuntalā*, he describes the hermitage of Kaṇva which some say is situated in the State of Sirohi just to the west of this part of the country' (viz. Avanti or Malwa); and Mm. Sastri apparently agrees with them. These scholars must have been misled by some such passage as the one quoted above from the *Mahābhārata*, because the State of Sirohi lies about Mount Abu and therefore between Puṣkara and Ujjein; but they lost sight of the fact that in the *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* itself we are told that Kaṇva's hermitage was in a valley of the Himālaya. I may refer them to another Kaṇvāśrama mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[64], placed between the Payoṣṇī and Sūrpāraka or Sopara on the Bombay coast.

§ 17. *Kanakhala*

Kālidāsa mentions Kanakhala as the place near which the Ganges debouches into the plains, where he instructs his cloud messenger to enter the Himālaya. There is a village which still retains the name of Kanakhal, but it is now some two miles from the place where the Ganges enter into the plains, viz. Haridwara. Wilson[65] observes, 'It it rather extraordinary that Kālidāsa should have omitted the name of Haridwara (Hurdwar), and preferred Kanakhala, sepecially as the former occurs in the Purāṇas, in the *Skandapurāṇa* as mentioned in the note, page 450, Vol. xi of the *Researches*; and in this passage from the *Matsyapurāṇa*, cited in the *Purāṇa Sarvasva*: sarvatra sulabhā gaṅgā triṣu sthāneṣu durlabhā / haridvāre prayāge ca gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgame'. In this connection, it may be observed that in the *Mahābhārata*, in the enumeration of *tīrthas* or holy places about the region of the Gaṅgādvāra, Haridwara is not mentioned; I am not quite sure whether it is at all mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*; I have not found it anywhere in the book. But, on the other hand, Kanakhala is mentioned as a specially holy place[66]. Again, in another passage the Ganges Kanakhala is mentioned as having special sanctifying power[67]. We also read in the *Padmapurāṇa*[68]: puṇyā kanakhale gaṅgā kurukṣetre sarasvatī.

From these passage it may seem that at the time of Kālidāsa, as also when the *Mahābhārata* received its present form, Kanakhala extended up to and included modern Hardwar; but it is more probable that Kanakhala was at the time looked upon as a very important place, more important even than the exact spot where the Ganges forced its way through

64. Ch, lxxxviii, verse 11.

65. 'Meghadūta' ed. H. H. Wilson, 3nd. ed., London 1843, p. 50.

66. E. g., 'Mahābhārata', Vanaparva, Ch. lxxxiv, yerse 30 (Bang. ed.) and Ch. lxxxii, (Kum. ed.).

67. Ibid, Vanaparva, Ch. lxxxvi, verse 88 (Bang. ed.). Ch. lxxxiii (Kumb. ed.).

68. 'Padmapurāṇa' (Anand ed.), Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. xiii, verse 6.

§ 19. *Uttara-Kośala*

The country of the Raghus has been called by Kālidāsa Kośala or *Uttara-kośala*, and the people residing in it are also called by him by the same name. The first time we meet with it in the *Raghuvamśa* is in the expression 'Lord of the Northern *kośala*'—applied to king Dilīpa (R iii 5), then we have kośaleśvara applied to Raghu (R iv 70), next 'the lords of northern *kośala*—applied to the Iksvāku kings (R vii 34). *Kośala* is spelt indifferently with the dental *s* or the the palatal *ś*. Dr J F Fleet[71] would prefer the former.

Kośala as the name of a people or a country does not occur in the earliest Vedic literature, but it is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (I 4 1 14 et seq), where the river Sadānīrā (identified with the river Little Gandak[72]) is spoken of as separating it from Videha. There is no mention either in the Vedas[73] or the Buddhist literature[74] of North and South Kośals, as we find in the later classical Sanskrit works. At the time of Buddha, the *kośalas* formed a very powerful clan in northern India and there was a violent struggle between Kośala and Magadha for paramount power over the whole of northern India. The Śākyas, among whom Buddha was born, acknowledged the suzerainty of Kośala[75]. And as Prof Rhys Davids observes, '*The very centre of the literary activity of the Buddhists was* precisely Kośala'[76]. It 'probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gandak for its eastern boundary and the mountains for its northern boundary', and it had for its capital Śrāvastī where Buddha preached many of his sermons[77].

In the *Rāmāyana* we read, 'On the bank of the Sarayū was a great realm,—happy, prosperous and rich in ample stores of wealth and grain, called *Kośala*'[78]. The boundaries of this realm are not given but Daśaratha states he was the suzerain over the Drāvidas, Sindhu-sauvīras, Saurāstras, the people of Daksināpatha, Vanga, Anga, Magadha, Matsya, Kāśī and Kośala (Ayodhyākānda, Ch x, verses 36-7). In the *Rāmāyana* also there is no mention of more than one Kośala. At the time of Rāma's passing away from this world, he *divided the whole realm of Kośala into two parts, and placed one of his two sons over each*. Kālidāsa tells us that he placed Kuśa upon the throne of Kuśavatī and Lava at Śarāvatī, and then proceeded towards the north (R xv 97 8). This is then the first partition of the Kośala kingdom. This is also borne out by what is said in the *Rāmāyana* (Uttarakānda, Ch cviii, verses 17 & 19 Nir ed). Kālidāsa says nothing more definite about these towns, *but we find that when* Kuśa leaving his new capital of *Kuśāvatī was* again coming back to the old capital of his family which lay deserted, he crossed the Vindhyas where his vast army had to be broken up into many squadrons, and where the barbarous Pulindas brought him many presents (R xvi 31 2). This shows that *Kuśa's*

71 JRAS, 1897, p 864   72. Fleet, JRAS, 1907 p 644

73 'Vedic Index by *Macdonell & Keith*, Vol i, p 190

74 'Buddhist India by Rhys Davids, p 25   75 Ib p 25   76 Ib, p 143   77. Ib, p, 25

78 Bālakānda, Ch v, verse 5 (Nir ed) It is also stated here that *the capital of Ayodhyā extended* 12 "yojanas' *in* length and 3 *in* width.

capital in the south was somewhere in the south of the Vindhyas, or at least in one of its defiles. And I think that the poet hereby suggests the beginning of the Southern Kośala kingdom. In the *Mahābhārata* we fiind that the Kośala country was divided into three separate countries. We read of the Uttara-kośalas as having been vanquished by Bhīma[79], and that Sahadeva defeated the kings of the Eastern-kośalas in the south near the Veṇvā or Wainganga (Sabhāparva, Ch. xxxi, verses 12 & 13). The Eastern-kośalas must have gone there in the south out of the fear of Jarāsandha of Magadha, as we are told in a previous chapter (Ib. Ch. xiv, verses 27 & 28). In the Aśvamedhaparva we are told that Arjuna defeated the Puṇḍras and the Kośalas near the coast of the eastern ocean (Ch. lxxxii, verses 29 & 30 ; Bang. ed.).

These Kośalas must have been the southern or the Mahā-kośala 'which comprised the upper valley of the Mahānadī with its tributaries, and seems at times to have included a much larger area now forming the eastern districts of the Central Provinces and the tributary states of Orissa'[80]. This Southern-kośala is evidently referred to in the 'kauśalaka-mahendra'[81] included among the Dakṣiṇāpatha rājās vanquished by Samudragupta and 'captured and liberated' by him. This is also mentioned in the Ajanta inscription[82], in the copper plate charter of Mahāśivagupta[83], in the Maranja-Mura charter of Mahāśivagupta[84], besides other inscriptions. In the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Kālidāsa's contemporaty Varāhamihira, the Northern-kośala is not mentioned at all, but he places Kośala in the South-East (Ch. xiv, verse 8).

In the other work of Parāśara quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary[85] Kośala is placed in the south east. Varāhamihira also mentions the *Kośalakas* as a people in the east[86]. In the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭa,* Kośala is mentioned twice, once in the Middle country and again in the south east[87].

About a hundred years before Varāhamihira, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited India in the course of his travels (A. D. 398-414) found the kingdom of Kośala still existing with its capital at Śrāvastī, but he found it to be falling into ruins : he 'came to the city of Śrāvastī in the kingdom of Kośala in which the inhabitants were few and far between, amounting in all (only) to a few more than two hundred families'[88]. But Yuan Chwang, who travelled in India about two centuries later (A. D. 629-645), shortly after the time of Kālidāsa, found the capital of 'the Shih-lo-fa-si-ti (Śrāvastī) country, a wild ruin without anything to define its area'[89]. At this time, the northern Kośala country had lost even its name as a kingdom, and Yuan Chwang knew the country after Śrāvastī in which he was

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79. Sabhāparva, Ch. xxx, verses 2-3 (Bang. ed.).
80. Vincent Smith in the JRAS, 1914, p. 331.
81. Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 7.
82. 'Arch. Surv. of Western India', Vol. iv, p. 127.
83. JASB, 2nd series, Vol. i. p. 14.
84. JBORS, Vol. ii, pt. i, p. 53.
85. Ed. Mm. S. Dvivedi, Vol. i. p. 288.
86. Kern, 'op. cit'., p. 88.
87. The 'Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda' ed. by G. M. Bolling and J. von Negelein, Vol. i, pt. ii, Pariśiṣṭa lvi, verses 2 & 3.
88. 'The Travels of Fa-hien' traslated by James Legge. Oxford 1886, p. 55.
89. 'On Yuan Chwang' by J. Watters, Vol. i, p. 377.

interested as a Buddhist The only Kośala country that he knows of is the Southern Kośala[90].

From all the facts detailed above, it will be clear that the kingdom of Kośala was split up at first into two and later into three different kingdoms, but the eastern Kośala was absorbed or abolished by the growing power of Magadha, and afterwards by the Pauravas In the *Mahābhārata*, we find Brhadvala mentioned as the king of Kośala, that is, of northern Kośala This kingdom was very powerful at the time of Buddha with its capital at Śrâvastî[91] but the gradual growth of the kingdom of Magadha, its rival, underminded its strength, but it seems to have continued a weak existence up to the time of Fa-hien with its capital at Śrâvastî. But the Gupta Empire had absorbed it and hence Yuan Chwang found the capital in 'wild ruin'. But he had found a small kingdom round A-yu-te which is identified with Ayodhyâ It seems that an offshoot of the Gupta dynasty still reigned there, because we know that Ayodhyâ was one of the capitals of the Gupta Empire, where some of them had established a mint[92]. 'When a great extension of the empire took place in the reign of Candragupta II, Vikramâditya, c 410 B C it is probable that the capital was transferred, either permanently or occasionally, to a more central position at Ayodhyâ'[93] I think it was in memory of this resuscitation of Ayodhya as the capital of a powerful empire, that Kâlidâsa wrote about the return of Kuśa to it in his beautiful poetical language His poetic imagination may have received inspiration from this incident, of which he had perhaps a personal knowledge, as it is believed by many scholars that Kâlidâsa lived at the time of Candragupta II[94]. It is not improbable also that the subject of writing a *mahākāvya* on the dynasty of the rulers of Ayodhyâ may have been suggested to Kâlidâsa by this revival of the capital (which had ceased to exist as a capital, having given place to Śrâvastî as we find from the Buddhist works).

§ *19.* (*a*) *Sāketa,* (*b*) *Kuśāvatī and Śarāvatī*

Before finishing this section, I would like to say a few words about the towns in the Kośala country, Sâketa or Ayodhyâ, Kuśavatî and Śaravati or Śravastî Kâlidâsa speaks indifferently of Sâketa or Ayodhyâ and treats the two names as synonymous (e g, R v 31, xiii. 61 ; xiii. 79 ; xiv. 29, xv 38, xv. 60, xvi 13, xvii 36; etc etc) Saketa is mentioned in the Buddhist books as one of the large towns As Kern says, 'There are other big cities here, such as Campâ, Râjagrha, Śrâvastî, Sâketa, Kuśâmbî and Benares'[95] This is a quotation from the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* It is known from the well known passage (in illustration of a *sūtra* of Pânini) in Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya*. arunad yavanah sâketam It is also found in the *Gārgisamhitā*[96] Fa-hien visited a city called Sha-che,

90, Watters, 'op cit', Voll, ii, p 200 ff
91 R Davids, 'Buddhist India', p 25
92 V Smith, 'Early History of India', 3rd ed, p. 293
93 'Indian Coins', by E. J. Rapson, p 25 94 V Smith. 'Early History of India', 3rd ed, p 304 n.
95 'Histoire de Bouddhisme dans l 'Inde' par H. Kern Tr. G. Huet, p. 231.
96 Kern's 'Brhat Samhitā', Introduction

which is identified with Sāketa. Sāketa is mentioned as a town in the middle country in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*[97]. It is also mentioned in the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*[98] as being in the middle-country.

Dr. Fleet considers Sāketa to be the same as 'the modern Audh or Oude or Oudh' (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 189). But Mr. Vincent A. Smith does not consider the identification as satisfactory, and he would place the site of Sāketa at Kursi[99]. In his *Early History of India*[100], he says, 'At present the position of Sāketa cannot be determined precisely'. Major W. Vost, I. M. S., concludes after stating all the different opinions by saying, 'I conclude by giving it as my opinion that Tusaran Bihar is the site of Sāketa, the capital of Shache and Pi-so-kia'[101].

Whatever may be the different opinions among the scholars, it is evident that Kālidāsa had not the least misgiving about the identity of Sāketa and Ayodhyā, and in Sanskrit literature generally they are always so identified. But it is likely that Sāketa and Fa-hien's Sha-che are not the same with the Pi-sho-ka or Pi-so-kia of Yuan Chwang as Watters[102] has shown very clearly ; this identity has been at the root of all the differences in opinion among the scholars, and if it is given up, there is no further trouble to identify Sāketa and Ayodhyā as one and the same city. I have shown above that Kuśa crossed the Vindhyas in order to go from his new capital to the capital of his family. That his city, Kuśāvatī was on the slopes of the Vindhyas is proved very clearly from a statement in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ch. lxxxviii, verses 198-200 ; Anand. ed.).

This evidence of the *Vāyupurāṇa* puts it beyond doubt that the Śarāvatī of Kālidāsa is the same as Srāvastī, the capital of Kośala at the time of Buddha. It was visited, as we have seen, by Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, and also by I-tsing[103] who was in India during the period A. D. 671-695. General A. Cunningham located the city of Srāvastī at the village of Sahet-Mahet on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts in the United Provinces, on the right bank of the river Rapti which he identified with the ancient river Ajirāvatī[104]. But Mr. Vincent A. Smith pleaded for the village of Balapur in Nepal as the true site of Śrāvastī[105], but he has accepted Cunningham's identification in the latest edition of his *Early History of India*[106], in consideration of the evidences found by Dr. Vogel[107], Pandit Dayaram Sahni etc. of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, who have found at the site a copper-plate recording the gift of six villages to the community of monks residing at the Jetavana Mahāvihāra[108], and the lower half of a statue of the Kushana period bearing the name of Jetavana at Śrāvastī[109]. These proofs have finally settled the position of Śrāvastī.

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97. Ib., p. 88.
98. Ed. by G. M. Bolling and J. von Negelein, Vol. i, pt. ii, 'Pariśiṣṭa' lvi. i, verse 2.
99. JRAS, 1898, p. 524. 100. 3rd. ed. p. 214. 101. JRAS, 1905, p. 437.
102. 'On Yuan Chwang', Vol. i, p. 375.
103. 'A Record of the Buddhist Religion' by I-tsing Tr. by Takakusu, p. liii.
Geography of India' pp. 408-14 105. JRAS, 1898, pp. 520-31.
n. 107. JRAS, 1908, p. 971. 108. JRAS, 1909, p. 1067.

Kuśāvatī is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparva, Ch clxii, verses 57 and 59). a *yaksa*, Dhaneśvara, attended a meeting of the gods at Kuśavatī and on his way back towards home evidently in the north, he met the sage Agastya on the bank of the Jamunā This would also suggest central India as the place where Kuśavatī was situated

§ 20 *Śūrasena*

§ 20 (*a*) *Mathurā*

Kālidāsa mentions the country of Śūrasena and its king, Susena in connection with the kings assembled at the Svayamvara of Indumatī He speaks of 'Susena, the king of Śūrasenas' (R vi 45) He further states that his capital was at Mathura on the bank of the Yamunā,—the dark waters of which were coloured partially white by the washing of the sandal-paste on the bosoms of the ladies in his harem, so much so, that it seemed that the Kālindī had mixed her waters with those of the Ganges (R vi 48) He refers to the Paurānika story of the vanquishing of the Nāga Kāliya by Krsna (R vi 49), and he refers to the beautiful groves of Brndāvana which was hardly inferior to the mythic garden, Caitraratha of the Gandharvas (R vi 50) Kalidāsa also speaks of the hill, Govardhana, where the stones were scented with Śaileya (benzoin ?) and where the peacocks danced These details enable us to locate the kingdom of Śūrasena as the country round the city of Mathurā Kālidasa has here been guilty of two anachronisms, inasmuch as he afterwards says that Śatrughna established the city of Mathurā or Madhurā after vanquishing Lavana, and also for Sunandā to speak of Krsna as putting down Kaliya, an event which, according to the Purānas, took place long ages afterwards, is not quite in order.

Śūrasena is not mentioned in the Vedas, but in Manu it is said to form a part of the Brahmarṣi-deśa which was second in importance only to Brahmāvarta (Manu ii 19) As this verse indicates, in post-Vedic times the country of Śūrasenas attained a great importance, and was a seat of Aryan culture The vernacular of Śūrasena reached a very high position among the spoken languages, the Prākṛta speeches of India In Vararuci's *Prākrta Prakāśa*, which was most probably written about the third century B C[110] we find that Śaurasenī or the vernacular of Śūrasena occupied a place next in importance only to Mahārāstrī Among the four Prākrtas of India treated of by Vararuci, are Mahārastrī, Paiśacī, Māgadhī, and Śaurasenī In fact, this last is represented as having its origin in Sanskrit śaurasenī // 1 // prakrtih samskṛtam // 2 //[111], but both Paiśācī and Māgadhī are spoken of as having their origin in Śaurasenī paiśacī // 1 // prakrtih śaurasenī // 2 //[112] and. māgadhī // 1 // prakrtih śaurasenī // 2 //[113] From the above it is evident that Śaurasenī was the vernacular of northern India in general before further local variations were intro-

110 R Pischel, 'Grammatic der Prakrit', Sprachen, Sec 32, p 33

111. The 'Prakṛta Prakāśa or The Prakrit Grammar of Vararuci' with notes and translations by E. B. Cowell, 2nd issue, London 1868, Ch xii, 'sūtras' 1 & 2 112. Ib, Ch x, p 86

113. Ib, Ch. xi, p [illegible]

duced in the east to form Māgadhī, and in the frontier provinces, especially the north-west, to form Paiśācī. In *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, Śaurasenī is mentioned as one of the seven *bhāṣās* (Ch. xvii, verse 48. Nir. ed.) : Māgadhī, Āvantī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Ardhamāgadhī, Vāhlīkā and Dākṣiṇātyā.

The Śūrasenas are spoken of in the *Mahābhārata* as having fled through fear of Jarāsandha of Magadha (Sabhāparva xiv, 26, Bang. ed.) ; they were vanquished by Sahadva (*Ib.* xxxi. 2) ; the Pāṇḍavas while going from Dvaitavana to Virāṭa's capital passed through the country of the Śūrasenas (Virāṭaparva, v. 4). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sugrīva speaks to his army proceeding towards the north of the Śūrasenas along with the Bharatas, Kurus etc ;[114] that is, tribes living in the middle country. In the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*, Mathurāpunaṅgadeśa is mentioned among the countries in the north[115]. In the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* the Māthurakas and Śūrasenas are mentioned as belonging to the Madhyadeśa (Kern. *op cit*, p. 87, Ch. xiv, verse 3) and in the older account of Parāśara quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala, Śūrasena is mentioned at the beginning of the many countries and peoples belonging to the Madhyadeśa. (ed. S. Dvivedi, Vol. i, p. 286).

Fa-hien gives the name of the country as Ma-taou-lo or Mathurā[116]. He places it on the Poo-na river which, as Watters points out, is a contraction for yao-pu-na or Yabuna. Yuan Chwang calls it Yen-mou-na. In describing Mathurā, Fa-hien gives a general description of the middle kingdom, showing that the country round Mathurā was considered at that time as especially belonging to the Madhyadeśa proper. Yuan Chwang describes 'the country of Mathurā as being above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital being above 20 *li* in circuit'[117]. This has been calculated by Cunningham as equivalent to 833 miles and 3·33 miles respectively. This would make the kingdom of Mathurā 'include the present district of Mathurā, with the small states of Bharatpur, Khiraoli and Dholpur, and the northern half of the Gwalior territory. To the east it would have been bounded by the kingdom of Jijhaoli and on the south by Malwa'[118]. But according to the length of the *li* as established by Dr. J. F. Fleet, viz. that for India ordinarily 100 *li* should be taken as equivalent to 21,333·3 yards or 12·12 miles[119], the circuit of the kingdom of Mathurā would measure 606 miles which would narrow the kingdom within shorter and more reasonable limits. But the circuit of the city in either case would be too small. In the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. x, p. 34) there is an inscription of the Śūrasenas.

The city of Mathurā, the capital of Śuraśena, was founded, as Kālidāsa tells us, by Śatrughna after he had killed the dark-complexioned Lavaṇa (R xv. 2) on the the bank of the Yamunā (R xv. 28). The whole of the country about this town appears to have been full of dense forests : Śatrughna, on his journey from Ayodhyā to the habitation of Lavaṇa, very soon entered the forests (R xv. 8 & R xiv. 52-8) and on his way passed through the hermitage of Vālmīki on the southern bank of the Ganges (R xv. 11). That Vālmīki's hermitage was not far from the southern bank of the Ganges appears from the fact that

114. Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, Ch. liii, verse 11 (Nir. ed.).
115. Ed. by Bolling & Negelein, Pariśiṣṭa lvi, 1, 8.
116. Legge's 'Fa-hien', p. 42. 'On Yuan Chwang', i, p. 313.
117. Watters, 'op. cit.', p. 301.
118. Cunninham's 'Ancient Geography of India'. p. 373.
119. JRAS, 1906, p. 1013.

Laksmana crossed the Ganges with Sītā and then pointed out to her the path to the hermitage (R xiv 52 and 58) There she was found by the sage brought thither by the sound of her weeping (R xiv, 70) Now let us follow the track of Śatrughna Leaving the hermitage, Śatrughna went forward, evidently through forests, and reached the place called Madhūpaghna where Lavana also came back at the same time after his raid through the forests (R xv 15) The place was evidently a stronghold of the non Aryan people ('the dark complexioned ones' R xv 2) in the midst of dense forests where the sages had gone forward and built their hermitages , the torch of civilisation thus lighted by the sages, was further carried forward by the conquests of Śatrughna who established a town at the site of the capital of the barbarians. There he enjoyed the picturesque sight of the Yamunā from his palaces (R xv 30), and he must have passed a number of years there , because we are told that at the time of his return to Ayodhyā, he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Śatrughātin and Subahu, Mathurā falling to the lot of the former and Vidiśā to to the latter Now, as the sons of Śitā, we are told, were born in the very night that Śatrughna passed at the hermitage of Valmiki (R xv 13), and so again his own sons were born after them (R xv 35), and as his sons must have reached years of discretion to be placed in charge of newly conquered kingdoms, we may safely guess that Śatrughna had to pass at Mathura about twenty years at least There is another consideration Vidiśa, where he placed his younger son, is identified with Bhilsā in Central India, and is at a great distance to the south of Mathura It must have taken Śatrughna a pretty long time to have conquered the wide stretch of land from Mathurā to Vidiśa and to have civilised it, as much of it was covered by wild forests, resided in by wild tribes

Mathurā is a very old town , in the Buddhist time it was also a very celebrated town Buddha did occasionally pay visits to it, but he spoke of its five defects[120] It is connected with Upagupta, the great Buddhist teacher, the spiritual preceptor of Aśoka, according to the Mahayānist school of Buddhism[121] Mathura is, no doubt rightly, considered to be the same as the *methora* of Arrian and Pliny and the *modoura*, the city of the gods of Ptolemy [122] Mathura is mentioned in the *Brhat Samhita* (Ch iv, verse 26 and Ch xvi, verse 17) and in the *Atharva Pariśista* as I have already shown before

§ 21 *Vālmīki's Hermitage*

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about Vālmīki s hermitage, as I have already referred to it in this section There I have shown that the hermitage could not have been far from the southern bank of the Ganges, but the exact spot has not been fixed there This we can do with the help of what Kālidasa puts in the mouth of Vālmīki, who says to Sita 'Having plunged into the waters of the Tamasā, the banks of which are not devoid of the residences of *rsis*, your mind will gain cheerfulness by offering up oblations

120 Watters, 'op cit', p 312

121 Cunningham, 'Arch Surv of India', Vol i, pp 231 ff and Vol iii, p 13 ff

122 Book vii

on its sandy shore' (R xiv. 76). This shows that the hermitage must have been situated upon the Tamasā, but not far from the bank of the Ganges, though not exactly upon it: because, as I have already said before, Lakṣmaṇa on the sands of the Ganges pointed out to Sītā the path to the hermitage and not the hermitage itself; and Vālmīki had come away there from his hermitage to gather *kuśa* and fuel for his sacrifices (R xiv. 70).

Therefore, it is now demonstrated that the hermitage of Vālmīki was situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Tamasā, nearer the Tamasā than the Ganges. We read in the *Rāmāyaṇa* : sa tu tīraṃ samāsādya tamasāyāḥ munis tadā / siṣyam āha sthitaṃ pārśve dṛṣṭvā tīrtham akardamam // (Ādikāṇḍa Ch. ii, verse 4; Nir. ed.) and again: sa praviśy āśramapadam śiṣyeṇa saha dharmavit (*Ib.* verse 22), etc., In the verse preceding the verse quoted first we read that Vālmīki went to the bank of the Tamasā not far from the Ganges (*Ib.* verse 3).

These passages prove clearly what I have deduced above from the statements of Kālidāsa. The Tamasā here referred to is the Tons, the southern Tons in Central India, 'rising in the Kaimur range (24° N. 80′ 9′ E.) and falling into the Ganges 19 miles below the junction of the latter with the Jumna'[123]. This agrees with Kālidāsa's statement that Lakṣmaṇa crossed the Ganges and pointed out the path to the hermitage which was farther to the south, on the bank of the Tamasā which he had not to reach or to cross. This Tamasā is not to be confounded with the other Tamasā in the north near Ayodhyā, which is also called the Tons at the present day, or the Chhoti Sarju; it joins the Ganges two miles west of Ballia town[124]. To reach this junction from Ayodhyā, Lakṣmaṇa would have to cross the Tamasā first and he would have found Vālmīki's hermitage there and it would have been absurd for him to cross the Ganges and go to the other side. Besides, this junction lies far to the east where Śatrughna had no business to go on his way to Mathurā. Whereas the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunā lies almost due south of Ayodhyā, and the junction of the Tamasā and the Yamunā a little farther to the east, Śatrughna crossed the Ganges there and then proceeded forward along the Yamunā to Mathurā. It might be asked why Śatrughna did not cross at the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunā. I think it was because of the impassable nature of the forests there which are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as scarcely penetrable and even scarce of water for a large body of men[125]. Rāma and Bharata went there and found difficulties which were surmounted with the help of the Niṣāda king, Guhaka. As Śatrughna marched at the head of an army, it was convenient for him to cross at a place where there was a clearing in the forest and a convenient ford. Mr. Pargiter has demonstrated clearly that at the time of Rāma 'Prayāga must have been completely shut off by forest from the common resources of civilization'[126]. But Mr. Pargiter has made a mistake in locating the hermitage of Vālmīki. He had placed it on the Chhoti Sarju by confusing the two rivers called Tamasā. He says, 'Ayodhyā, the modern town Ajudhya, or Oudh, was situated on the west bank on the river Sarajū, the modern Sarju or Ghogra. The Tamasā is no doubt the modern Tons, which flows about twelve miles distant on the west side of the Sarayū. It

123. 'Imperial Gazetteer of India', 1907, Vol. xxiii, p. 419. 124. Ib., p. 418.
125. Pargiter, JRAS, 1894, p. 227. 126. Ib., 239.

was on its banks that Vālmīki dwelt'[127]. The Tamasā that flows 12 miles off from Ayodhyā was the river that Rāma crossed when going out on his exile, and up to the banks of this river it was that the people of Ayodhyā followed him (Ayodhyākānda, Ch. xlv, verse 32 ; Nir ed) This river, as I have shown above, has nothing to do with the hermitage of Vālmīki This Tamasā, or the Choti Sarjū has been referred to by our poet, when he says that king Daśaratha embellished the banks of the Sarayū and the Tamasā by erecting sacrificial columns of gold on them (R ix 16) It is also probably the Choti Sarajū that is referred to in R ix 72

§ 22 *Pratisthāna*

The city of Pratisthāna is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Vikramorvaśīyam* as the capital of the hero of that drama, Purūravas , and he also puts it very clearly at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna The *apsaras* Citralekhā observes to her friend Urvaśī when they are coming down to meet Purūravas at his capital 'We are arrived at the house of the Rājarsi which is, as it were, the crown and glory of Pratisthāna, (as if looking *at itself, i e) reflected in the specially sacred waters at the junction of the* Bhāgirathī and the Yamunā' (ed S P Pandit, 3rd ed , Bombay 1901, Act ii, § 67) Again Urvaśī reminds Purūravas that a long time has passed since he had left his capital, Pratiṣthāna (Ib Act iv, § 66) Then again, the Vidusaka says that on his return after a long time to the capital, Pururavas went to his tent after having an *abhiseka* with the queens at the junction of the two rivers, as it was a specially auspicious phase of the moon

From these it is clear that Kālidāsa considered the capital of his hero to have been situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, and herein he is strictly in agreement with the Purānas The *Mātsyapurāna* says that at the junction, the city of Pratisthāna was situated on the eastern side of the Ganges (Ch cvi, verse 30 , Ch cxii, verses 8 & 9, Anand ed)

Pargiter has brought together all the references in the Purānas to the story of Purūravas and has shown from them that 'Sudyumna (Manu's daugher Ilā changed into a son) obtained no share (of the ten parts into which the whole earth was divided by Manu), but received the town Pratisthana, at the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā He gave it to Purūravas, and Purūravas began the Aila kingdom there'[128]

§ 23 *Kāśi*

The kingdom of Kāśi is only incidentally mentioned by Kālidāsa, showing that as an independent kingdom it had come to an end at his time *He mentions the king of kāśi only*

127 Ib , p 235   128 JRAS, 1914, p 269

in such phrases as kāśirājaputryā (Vikram. Act iii, 15) and devīm kāśirājaputrīm (Ib., Act ii, 2), to designate the queen of king Purūravas. The kingdom of kāśi was known in the Vedic times. The Kāśis and Videha were closely connected and the compound name kāśi-videha occurs in several Vedic passages. 'The *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra* mentions one Purohita as acting for the kings of kāśi, kośala and videha'[129]. In the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, the kāśis are for the most part united with the kośalas : kāśikośalāḥ (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. iii)—the *kāśis* and *kośalas* attack Droṇa, etc, etc. (Droṇaparva, Ch. cxxv). Its capital Benares, has retained its position and its glory up to the present time. About the time of Buddha[130] it was incorporated into Kośala. But its memory as a very great and powerful state is preserved in the Jātakas, many of which have the well-known beginning : 'In the past when Brahmadatta was the reigning king of Benares'....With the revival of Brahmanic culture in later times, its glory as the centre of this culture again revived, but as a great kingdom it never again obtained a status......

[One sheet of the Ms. is missing here—Ed.]

§ 24. *Videha*

......by the universal consent of the natives to be the same place as the ancient Janakpur, the capital of Mithilā'[131].

The river Kosi or Kausika flows [...] the kingdom of Videha though there are reasons to believe that at one time it was included in Aṅga. The fall of the Kosi is referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava*, where Śiva appoints the fall of the Kosi as the place where he will meet the seven Ṛṣis sent to negotiate his marriage with the daughter of Himālaya (Ku vi. 33). In the Travancore edition of Pandit Ganapati Sastri, the verse reads mahākauśī instead of mahākośī. The magnificent falls of this river still form a noted place of pilgrimage and there is a temple of Mahāmāyā[132], a form of Gaurī Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya. It 'leaves the mountains at Chatra in 26° 44′ N. and 87° 6′ E. *in a series of cataracts and rapids* and after a southerly course touches upon British territory in the extreme north-east of the Bhagalpur district'[133]. Its tributaries spoken of as the Sapta-kauśikī from their number and are all held sacred, and the united waters from what is called in Nepal the *Saṅkosi* or the *Saṃyukta Kośi*, the Mahākośī of Kālidāsa. Through its tributaries the Kosi receives the drainage of the highest peaks of the Himālayas from the Kanchanjanga to Mount Everest. The magnificent prospect of this region is described by Mr. F. A. Shillingford : 'Standing near any one of the rest houses [...] the Singlila range...one cannot help being struck with the vast extent of the work of denudation performed by the Sapta-kusa carving out the huge valleys and rugged gorges which stretch in a series of stupendous waves as far as the eye can reach, over a region of mountainous country, extending from Kanchinjanga to beyond Katmandu, and from the alluvial plains of Bengal to

129. Macdonell & Keith, 'Vedic Index', Vol. i, pp. 153-4.
130. Rhys-Davids, 'Buddhist India', p. 24.
131. 'Ancient Geography of India'. p. 445.
132. JASB, 1895, pt. i, p. 2.
133. 'Imperial Gazetteer', Vol. xv. pp. 407-8.

the further chain of Himâlayas, forming the southern watershed of the Brahmaputra,—a tract of country 200 miles long by 150 miles wide, containing the two highest mountain peaks in the world with their attendant masses of perpetual snow Thus the Kusi drains a larger tract of the Himalayas and delivers a greater volume of water as it debouches into the plains than any other stream on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, between the Brahmaputra and the Punjab rivers'[134]

§ 25 *Magadha*

Kālidāsa leads the bride, Indumatī first of all to the king of Magadha, in the assemblage of the most powerful monarchs of India (R vi 20), and he puts in the mouth of Sunandā that though there might be thousands of other kings the earth could be said to have a king only on account of the presence of the king of Magadha (R vi 20) His capital is named Puspapura Kālidasa has to admit the premier position of the king of Pataliputra though he had set to himself the business of singing in verse the glories of the kings of Ayodhyā This latter city was selected by the Gupta Emperors, under whom Kālidasa lived, as their capital on account of its central position after they had conquered Malava (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 25) But there was I think, another reason for the preference of the Guptas for Ayodhya Pātaliputra had been for long the seat of the great Buddhist monarchs, therefore the Gupta Emperors removed themselves to Ayodhyā, sacred and holy as the capital of Śrī Rāmacandra Yet Pātaliputra had so long been associated in the Indian mind as the seat of monarchs wielding imperial sway, that it had to be shown respect, and most probably as Mr V A Smith conjectures[135], it was still regarded as the official capital Kālidasa, therefore, while singing the glories of the kings of Ayodhyā, had to admit that the Lord of Magadha was the premier sovereign among all the rulers of India

Kālidasa has not furnished any further particulars about Magadha except only the name of its capital Puspapura It is the same as the town that is more generally known as Pataliputra The first beginning of Pataliputra was made while Buddha was still living, when Buddha shortly before his death proceeded to Pataligāma he saw two officers of Ajataśatru, the king of Magadha, laying out the city there and he prophesied about some future danger (*Mahāparinibbānasutta*) This prophecy has been verified by the excavations at Pātaliputra (by Dr Spooner) where there were signs of layers of ashes and the deposit of silt This was, however, only a frontier fortress It was king Udayi who later built a capital in its immediate neighbourhood and gave up Rājagrha on account of the deep grief for his father as told by the renowned Jain author Hemacandra The Purānas and the *Gārgi Samhitā*[136] also support it From this time forward, it gradually rose in importance

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134 Vide JASB, 1895, pt i, pp 2 ff 135 'Early History, 3rd ed, p 293

136 Parisistaparvam, ed H Jacobi in the ZDMG, xxv Pargiter, 'Dynasties of the Kali Age, p 22, Kern, op cit, Introduction p 36

and power, until under Candragupta and Aśoka it occupied the premier position among the cities of India. Even in the ninth century king Dharmapāla issued his copperplate grants from this city.

§ 26. *Aṅga*

The kingdom of Aṅga is not mentioned in the course of conquests of Raghu, signifying that the kindom of Aṅga did not exist at the time of Kālidāsa as an independent monarchy, but had been absorbed into the Gupta empire and was administered directly by them. Kālidāsa, however, introduces a king of Aṅga, in the assemblage of kings at the Svayaṃvara of Indumatī. Here, of course, he draws upon his knowledge of the past history of the country ; no Aṅga king is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. But in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata,* Aṅga is a very powerful country. Karṇa, its king, led the Vaṅgas and other allied races to the Kurukṣetra battle.

The only particular that Kālidāsa mentions about the kingdom of Aṅga is that the professor of the science of elephants had trained those in his possession. At the present day there are no elephants in the country formerly known as Aṅga, viz. the regions about the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr ; but elephants are found in the Himalayan Terai, to which the kingdom may have extended at some time. However the king of Aṅga could have no difficulty in procuring elephants from Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga and other provinces where they abounded. 'Elephants are still found wild in places along the base of the Himālayas, as far west as the Dehra Dun ; a few are met with in parts of the great forest tract east of long 80°E. between the Ganges and the Kistna'[137]. 'The numbers of the Indian elephant have decreased greatly in India and Ceylon during the course of the last century'[138] ; it is likely that formerly there were elephants in the eastern spurs of the Vindhyas to which the Aṅga kingdom, when powerful, certainly extended. What the poet means to say, however, is that the science of training elephants was much developed in the kingdom of Aṅga. Hemādri[139], in his note on this passage, refers to the book of Pālakāppya, according to which the king of Aṅga was the first man to learn the science of taming wild elephants and brought down the science from heaven to earth for the first time. Kālidāsa here certainly refers to some such tradition as this..

§ 27. *Suhma*

Kālidāsa makes Raghu start on his expedition of conquest from his capital Sāketa or Ayodhyā ; first of all he proceeds towards the east, and leading a mighty army towards the eastern sea, he finds his progress very easy, the kings who withstood him on the way being

137. 'Imperial Gazetteer', i. 230. 138. Ib.

139. Quotation in Nandargikar's ed. of 'Raghuvaṃśam', notes p. 113.

ousted in some cases from their thrones or up rooted in others, or their power was broken in many cases, until he reached the coast of the ocean dark with the forests of *palmyra* trees (R iv 28 & 32) There he meets the Suhmas who were no match for him and, therefore, saved themselves by adopting the character of the cane creeper which hangs down its head to the torrent of a river

It is remarkable that Kālidāsa does not mention any kingdom or country between Kośala and Suhma I think, it is so because the full powers of the Guptas under whom he lived was felt in these regions and almost the whole of nothern India they ruled over not merely as an Emperor holding the powers of a suzerain over subordinate kings, but that it was governed directly by them from their capitals at Pataliputra, Ayodhyā and Ujjein For this reason he does not mention Mālwā in the course of Raghu's expedition, nor any of the countries in northern India except those on the borders where there were rulers enjoying more or less independence This is also apparent from the fact that he does make a mention of such princes in other connections

In the *Daśakumāracarita*, we read that Suhma contained the port of Dāmalipta, which is nothing but Tāmralipta, the great port through which was carried the maritime trade between northern India and China and the Indian colonies in the eastern seas Fa hien embarked in a large merchant vessel here, and of this port I tsing observes, 'This is the port where one embarks for returning to China'[140] Of the numerous pilgrims whose lives are given by I tsing in his memoires, Tao lin, Ta tcheng teng and Hwui Lun landed or embarked here Yuan Chwang describe Tāmralipti as the capital of the country of the same name which no doubt was Kalidasa's Suhma[141] He says that it was 1,400 *li* in circuit , therefore, according to Fleet's calculation referred to before viz 100 *li* as equivalent to 12 12 miles, this would indicate a circuit of 170 miles , thus the country would include considerable portion of the modern districts of Midnapur (in which Tāmralipti is situated) and also Hughli and Burdwan In the *Pavana Dūtam* we are told that a town Vijayapura was its capital M M Chakravarty [142] identifies Vijayapura with the Nudiah mentioned in the *Tabakat i Nasiri*[143] and he considers Nudiah to mean Navadwip But it is very doubtful whether they can be so identified

It is significant that *Atharva Pariśista*[144] mentions the Tamraliptas as a people but not the Suhmadeśa, thus agreeing with Yuan Chwang Suhma is mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāsya* as an illustration to Panini's aphorism , visayo deśe (iv 2 52) Patañjali gives the following examples anganām visayo angah / vangah / suhmah / pundrah // (Kielhorn, *Mahābhāsya* Vol ii, p 282) A scholiast on Panini also mentions a Suhmanagara

There are many references to Suhma in the Puranas and the *Mahābhārata* Some of them have been referred to by M M Chakravarty

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140 Memoire composé a l'époque de la grande dynastie jang sur les religieux eminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays d occident par I tsing Traduit en Francais par E Chavannes, Paris 1894, p 97 141 Watters, 'op cit , ii 189 142 JASB, 1905, ii 45 143 Ravertz, p 554

144 Bolling & Negelein, Vol i, pt 2, pp 374-5 ; Parisista 2 vi, 3 & 4 Kurma Bibhāga

§ 28. *Vaṅga*

Kālidāsa leads Raghu to the country of the Vaṅgas from Suhma. He observes about them that the Vaṅgas possessed a fleet as one of the main divisions of their arms, and that they lived about the Ganges (R iv. 36), which is no doubt, the main channel of the Ganges that now flows through Eastern Bengal to the sea. Moreover, he refers to the characteristic Bengali method of agriculture, viz. transplantation (R iv. 37). He again refers to this practice in another place (R xvii. 42).

The Vaṅgas are considered by him to have fallen rather easy victims to Raghu. But a passage in the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*[145] does credit to the Vaṅgas as a great marshal race. It says that they are renowned in the earth for their prowess, and they meet the earth only on their death ; that is they do not bend down to the earth to acknowledge submission to any one, certainly not like the transplanted *kalamas* of Kālidāsa :

yo rājā prathitaparākramaḥ pṛthivyām
vaṅgāṅgādiṣu magadhāḥ saśūrasenāḥ /
ye yodhāḥ samaraṇabhūmilabdhaśabdās-
te sainyaiḥ kṣayam upayānti śukraghāte //

This passage in connection with the Vaṅgas, I think, has not been quoted by any one else. We have already quoted another passage from the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* mentioning the Vaṅgas in connection with the Suhmas.

Mm. Haraprasad Sastri has dealt with the history and geography of Vaṅga included in Bengal at great length in his presidential address at the meeting of the *Sāhitya Sammilana* at Burdwan, and also previously as the President of the Reception Committee at the Calcutta meeting of the same conference. Rakhaldas Banerjee in his recently publihed *Bāṅgalār Itihāsa* or the History of Bengal has dealt with the geography of Vaṅga in great detail.

Pargiter, from a consideration of the passages mentioning Vaṅga in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas comes to the conclusion that 'Vaṅga must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, and parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridpur'[146].

This is only partially correct, as we see in the light of the researches of the Bengali scholars mentioned above. Kālidāsa's Vaṅga does no doubt mainly include what we now call Eastern Bengal, as he places this country after Suhma.

§ 29. *Kaliṅga*

Kâlidāsa takes Raghu to the country of the Utkalas from Vaṅga : Raghu crossed the *kapiśa* by means of a bridge of elephants and then with the Utkalas as his guides he proceeded towards *kaliṅga*.

145. Bolling & Negelein, 'op. cit.', p. 351. Pariśiṣṭa LI, 4. 4. Chapter headed 'Gṛhayuddham'.
146. JASB, 1897, p. 97.

sa tīrtvā kapiśām sainyair baddhadviradasetubhih /
utkalādarśi tapathah kalingābhimukho yayau // Raghu iv 38

This verse clearly indicates that after crossing the river Kapiśa, Raghu met the Utkala people, the Wu ta of Yuan Chwang[147] and being guided by them he passed through their country in the direction of Kalinga The Kapiśa is, therefore, mentioned not as the boundary between Utkala and Kalinga, but as the boundary of the Utkala country towards the north east This river Kapiśa was identified by the German savant, Ch Lassen, with the Suvarnarekhā[148], which at the present day divides the Midnapur district from the district of Balasore, and I think he is not far wrong At the time of Kalidāsa, the Utkalas seem to have been a very weak people, as they did not show fight at all, but on the other hand, like consummate diplomats helped the conqueror to pass through their country without any difficulty, and it is reasonable to conjecture that their kingdom at this time did not extend beyond the Suvarnarekhā, though in later times the Utkalas formed a vast kingdom comprising the whole of the vast coastal country extending from the southern part of the modern Midnapur district up to the river Godāvarī and perhaps beyond, as we learn from the dominions of king Prataparudra as described in the *Caitanya Caritāmrta*

There is not much force in Pargiter's argument that 'the Kapiśa is the modern Cossye',[149] because the apparent similarity in name is due to nothing but the way in which Anglo Indians often mis-pronounce Indian names The real name is Kānsai or Kamsāvatī which has very little to do with Kapiśa, and I think, Pargiter's equation (Kamsai—Kapiśavatī) does not carry conviction.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Kalinga is said to include the river Vaitaranī, though even there the text does not certainly indicate that it commences there, but rather it seems that Kalinga comprised both the banks of that river

ete kalingāh kaunteya yatra vaitaranī nadī /
yatrāyajata dharmo'pi devāñjaranam etya vai //
rsibhih samupāyuktam yajñiyam giriśobhitam /
uttaram tīram etaddhi yatatam dvijasevitam //[150]

This passage signifies that the country where the Vaitaranī flows is Kalinga and apparently the northern bank also belonged to *Kalinga* The *weak Utkalas at this time must* have been wedged in between the Suhmas on the north and the Kalingas on the south, both of whom encroached upon their territories

Kālidasa next mentions the Mahendra mountain as included in Kalinga and the forces of the king of that country included a number of elephants The king is spoken of as Mahendranatha (R iv 43) and again as the lord 'of both Mahendra and the ocean' (R vi 54) There is a Mahendragiri 'a peak of the Eastern ghats in the Ganjam district,

147 Watters, 'op cit, p 193

148 Vide the map attached to Lassen s 'Indische altertumskunde'

149 JASB, 1897, p 98

150 'Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Ch 114 verses 4 5 Bang ed

Madras, 18° 54′ N and 84° 24′ E, 4,923 feet above the sea level'[151]. But Kālidāsa's Mahendra seems to be a range and to comprise almost the whole of the Eastern ghats, along the eastern coast, lying between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī; although it must be admitted that in the passage where he speaks of Raghu as planting his prowess on the crown or summit of Mahendra (R iv. 39) there can be no doubt that the peak called Mahendra is meant there.

There is a reference to the troops of elephants of Kaliṅga in the Nagpur Stone Inscription of the Rulers of Mālava. We read there, 'Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters, and bulk like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of the army'[152]. Megasthenes estimates that the king of Kaliṅga possessed 700 war elephants.

Kālidāsa notices several characteristic natural products of the eastern coast regions. The betel-creeper is abundanl there so much so that Raghu's soldiers prepared their drinking beds with its leaves, and they drank the toddy produced by the formentation of the water in the cocoanuts (R iv. 42); again he refers to the forests of palms on the coast of the ocean (R vi. 57). He also relates that the capital of Kaliṅga was on the sea-coast, so that the king was roused from his sleep by the roar of the sea (R vi. 56). This was perhaps Kaliṅgapaṭam of our modern times.

§. 30. *Pāṇḍya*

Kālidāsa mentions the Pāṇḍyas in two places, once in connection with the conquest of Raghu and again in connection with the svayaṃvara of Indumatī. They were defeated by Raghu, and they sought to conciliate him with an offer of pearls obtained from the ocean where the river Tāmraparṇī falls into it (R iv. 50). Then he speaks of the king Pāṇḍya as the lord of the city of Uragapura (R vi. 59); his country contains the dales of the Malaya mountain where the sandal trees are encircled by the elā (*cardamom*) creepers and the betel nut trees are enclosed in a ring of *tāmbūla* or betel creepers. The king is described to be dark in complexion like the blue lotus (R vi. 65), which shows that he belonged to the Dravidian race. Kālidāsa's description of the natural scenery of the country is very accurate; the betel creepers and the tall and slim betel-nut trees form a predominant feature of the eastern coast and the sandal trees do abound even at the present day in the hills of southern Inda. As Dr. T. Bloch observes, 'On the whole Kālidāsa's pictures of the countries conquered by Raghu and their products rouse the impression of a precise knowledge which is best appreciated by us, when we notice that the distant countries were for the first time brought near to the people of Northern India through the

151. 'Imperial Gazetteer', 1907, Vol. xvii, p. 8.
152. Tr. by Kielhorn. 'EI'. ii. p. 193. (verse 43 of the inscription).

[illegible] of [illegible] of Simhala [illegible] [illegible] a few lines later in his article he says that the Tamraparni [illegible] Ceylon and on the river Tamraparni [illegible] [illegible] their tribute in pearls which [illegible] [illegible] days, a pearl fishery on the coast of Ceylon [illegible] [illegible] the learned doctor in a [illegible] [illegible] the Tamraparni as a river 'Mallinatha [illegible] [illegible] (First)' and then indulges in a [illegible] [illegible] even Mallinatha sometimes commits an error' [illegible] the river is meant here and not the island [illegible] of eight varieties of pearls that were known in his time [illegible] Tamraparni[155] Then he proceeds to enumerate the special [illegible] This shows very clearly that Tāmraparṇi must have had [illegible] differing in many particulars from those of Simhala [illegible] Utpala, the learned commentator, explains Tamraparni as the river In the enumeration of the [illegible] also, Varahamihira mentions Simhala and Tāmraparṇi separately as both belonging to the south of India[156] We read in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 'This region extends to Colci, where the pearl fisheries are, and it belongs to the Pandian kingdom Beyond Colci there follows another district called the Coast Country which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru At this place and nowhere else, are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts'[157] We know that even at the present day there is a river Tambraparni in the Pāndya country, in the Tinnevelly district, Madras, rising on the slopes of the peak Agastyamalai in the western ghats and falling into the gulf of Mannar 'Near the mouth of the river is *Kolkai* (the Colci of the *Periplus*), the first capital of the Pāndyas, the earliest seat of Dravidian civilisation and once a famous seaport'[158] This shows that there were pearl fisheries at the mouth of the river Tamraparni at *Kolkai* as mentioned in the *Periplus*

There has been much difference of opinion about the site of the capital of the Pāndya Kingdom mentioned by the poet, viz Uragapura The name agrees in sound with Uraiyur, at present a suburb of the town of Trichinopoly on the river Cauvery[159] This Uraiyur in ancient times was known as the capital of the Cola kingdom and not of that of the Pāndyas As Caldwell says, 'We know from native poems that the name of the ancient capital of the Soras was Ureiyūr (pronounced Oreiyūr)[160], which appears to have been nearly identical with the modern Trichinopoly'[161]. As we have seen above, beyond Colci or *Kolkai*, the Pandian port, was a district called the Coast Country, which [illegible]

153 'Die [illegible]' [illegible]
[illegible], p 674 154 [illegible] 155 [illegible]
156. Ib., [illegible] 157 [illegible]
158. 'Imp Gaz', [illegible] 159 [illegible]
160 R. Caldwell, [illegible]

GL 6

asserts, 'was derived from the native name, 'Cola coast', *cola-mandalam*'[162], where, as the *Periplus* asserts, was situated *Argaru*, the capital of the Cola country, which Schoff identifies with Uraiyūr. He says, 'It is submitted that this *Argaru* is identical with Uraiyur, Oraiyur, Warriore, the ancient capital of the Cola kingdom, now part of Trichinopoly'. The *Periplus* was written in the second half of the first century after Christ, about 60 A. D. But Ptolemy, who died after 161 A. D., and whose Geography may therefore be taken to have been written about a century after the *Periplus,* mentions 'Argeiron a town, in the Orgalic Gulf, in the Land of Pandion'[163]. From this we may be justified to deduce that Argaru and Argeiron refer to one and the same town, viz. Uragapura, the Sanskrit form of the name with which it agrees more in sound than with the Tamil form, Uraiyur ; and the fact that Ptolemy mentions the town, as belonging to the Pāṇḍya country shows that it was at the time in the possession of the Pāṇḍyas. This name Uragapura occurs in a copper-plate inscription of the early Cālukya king Vikramāditya I. 'It is dated in the Śaka Saṃvat 596 (A. D. 674). The grant recorded in the inscription was made at the request of Queen Gaṅga-Mahādevī, while the king's victorious army having entered the Colika province (*viṣaya*) was encamped in Uragapura situated on the southern bank of the Kāverī'[164]. This puts it beyond doubt that Uragapura is the same as Uraiyur or Trichinopoly on the Cauvery. It is quite possible that at the time when Kālidāsa wrote, the Cola country had temporarily passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas, as appears very likely from the fact that Kālidāsa, who is generally very accurate in the geographical description of the different parts of India, makes no mention of the Colas at all ; but he mentions Kerala, the country of the Ceras, the other power in the Dravidian trio of powers in the south. The Ceras, Colas and the Pāṇḍyas are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka[165], and the Colas and Pāṇḍyas have been mentioned by the merchant author of the *Periplus.* Ptolemy also mentions the the Soras, but they appear to have been driven away from their capital, Argeiron. *Orthoura,* Ptolemy's capital of the *Paralia Soreton* does not seem to be the same as Uragapura. In the *Mahābhārata,* a very powerful Pāṇḍya king is mentioned, but there is no similar mention of a Cola king. The Colas are mentioned with the Pāṇḍyas and Keralas as fighting on the side of Yudhiṣṭhira[166]. But all the Dravidians residing on the eastern and the western coasts appear to have been led to join Yudhiṣṭhira's army by the Pāṇḍya king, as we read in the Udyogaparva, where the names of the people joining the two sides are mentioned, that Pāṇḍya joined Yudhiṣṭhira with many kinds of warriors living in the countries near the sea[167]. Again, in the *Karṇaparva,* a whole chapter is devoted to the fight and death of the great Pāṇḍya king who, it is said, did not consider himself in any way inferior to Bhīṣma, Karṇa, Vāsudeva or Arjuna[168]. From all these passages it is clear that at the time of the *Mahābhārata,* the Pāṇḍya king was very powerful and was the leader of all the Dravidian races. Kālidāsa tells us that his Pāṇḍya king had forced the king of Laṅkā to enter into a peace with him, and that he was the paramount power over a considerable part of southern

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162. Schoff, 'op. cit.', p. 241. 163. 'Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy', tr. by J. W. McCrindle, 1885, p. 59. 164. JRAS, 1911, pp. 156-7. 165. IA, xx. pp. 239, 240, 249.
166. Karṇaparva, Ch. xii, verse 15, Vaṅg. ed. 167. Udyogaparva, Ch. xix, verses 9-10. Vaṅg. ed.
168. Karṇaparva, Ch. xx, verses 5-6. Vaṅg. ed.

India appears from Sunanda's statement that if Indumatī married Pandya she would become a fellow queen, as it were, of the southern quarters (R vi 63)

Yuan Chwang also found the Cola country 'a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants'[169]

From all these considerations, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Cola capital was in the hands of the Pandyas at the time

A Sanskrit poem, *Pavana Dūtam* written by Dhoyīka, a court poet of Laksmanasena, king of Bengal about the end of the twelfth century, mentions Uragapura or Bhujagapura, the capital of the *pānda deśa* on the bank of the Tamraparnī (verse 8) I think this twelfth century poet had no personal knowledge of the geography of south India, but he borrowed, as may be amply illustrated, his description of the southern countries from Kalidasa, as he did borrow from him his idea of the whole poem from the *Meghadūtam*, and even there he has made a mess Kālidasa indeed speaks of the Tamraparnī and Uragapura as belonging to the Pandya country, but he never speaks of the one being on the bank of the other Here Dhoyika depending on his book knowledge only has joined up the two

From the account of the conquests of Raghu, it is not possible to find out the exact boundaries of any kingdom or province After describing the conquest of the Kalinga country he leads Raghu's armies along the east coast towards the south and after describing the coast as lined with betel nut trees he simply says that Raghu went towards the south (R iv 44) Then he says that the king crossed the Kāverī (R iv 45), and after this he, yearning after conquest, had travelled a long way, then his forces entered the valleys of the Malaya mountain covered with pepper forests (R iv 46), and there passing through a country abounding in *elā latā* (cardamom creepers) and sandal wood tress, Raghu meets the Pāndyas in the extreme south before he turns towards the west (R iv 47 9) From this account it seems clear that there must have been countries intervening between Kalinga in the far north and the Pāndya land in the extreme south Kālidasa does not mention to which country the Cauvery belonged, nor does it seem that it formed boundary between the two kingdoms of Kalinga and Pāndya Kalinga does not appear at any time to have extended beyond the Godavarī It is apparent therefore that there were kingdoms lying between the two powerful monarchies of Kalinga and Pandya, but Kalidāsa's business being a poetical one, he has described only the powerful kings that Raghu vanquished and neglected the smaller and more unimportant kingdoms[170] Sometimes he has dismissed a people with merely a bare mention, as in the case of the Utkalas This method of passing over the smaller kingdoms has been followed by him throughout

Towards the south west, the poet does not mention any other country until Raghu crosses the Western Ghats, the Sahya Range Here he appears to strike the real boundary of the Pandya kingdom which comprised generally the modern districts of Tinnevelly and Madura with considerable parts of Travancore, especially the southern portion

169 Watters, 'op cit', ii p 224

170 At the svayamvara of Indumatī also the only princes of the eastern coast that he mentions are those of Kalinga and Pāndya

§ 31. *Malaya*

From the analysis that we have given above it will be seen that our poet mentions the Malaya hill after the Kāverī is crossed and in canto VI (*śloka* 64) he speaks of the dales of the Malaya in the Pāṇḍyadeśa. He next speaks of the two mountains Malaya and Dardura, which were just like the two breasts of the earth, and having enjoyed these two which were covered with sandal-wood trees, that is, having passed with his army through the dales and valleys of these two peaks, he met the Sahya range and crossed it (R iv. 51-2). Again, while Rāma points out the sea to Sītā from his sky-borne car Puṣpaka, he tells her to look at the foaming ocean divided up to the foot of the Malaya mountain by the bridge he built (R xiii. 2). This shows that Kālidāsa considers the Malaya hills to commence at the Cauvery and to continue up to Rāmeśvaram, thus including the Nilgiri hills, the Madura Range, the Annimalai and Palni hills, the Cardamom hills and also perhaps some portion of the southern section of the western ghats. The name Malaya, it appears, was not applied either by Kālidāsa or in Sanskrit works generally, to any particular mountain, but it was used to designate the southern hills in general. 'The Tamil word *Malai* as well as the Malayalam word *Mala* means mountain in general, and not any particular mountain. The name Malayalam owes its origin to the mountainous character of the country'[171]. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* mentions Malaya and Dardura together as mountains in the south[172]. Wilson would confine Malaya 'to the southern portion of the Western Ghats'[173], and Mr. Manmohan Chakravarty speaks of Malaya as 'the hill range forming the eastern boundary of Travancore'[174]. Mr. Anandaram Borooah, says 'the mention (by Kālidāsa) of the Caveri flowing by it (Malaya), leaves no doubt that it is the same as the modern Nilgiris'[175]. But Bhavabhūti applies the name Malaya to the southern range (*Vīracaritam*, Act. vii, 11). From the mention of Malaya as the mountain to which Sugrīva fled on the approach of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Ṛṣyamūka and Pampā[176], Mr. Pargiter would suggest that the Malaya range comprised also the southern portion of the Western Ghats'[177] at the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The fact is that the name Mālaya was applied, as I have stated before, indifferently to all the mountains in the south. That it was applied to a portion of the western ghats also seems to be suggested by the name Malabar which is a hybrid word composed of the Malayalam word *mala*, 'hill' and the Arabic word *bar*, meaning country, so that 'Malabar' means 'the land of hills', i.e. the same thing as Malayalam.

Apart from this general mention of the Malaya range, Kālidāsa mentions a peak by the name of Malaya which, with its neighbour Dardura, seemed like the breasts of the southern regions. Such a description could only be made of two peaks not very far from each other and also distinguished by their height from other peaks in the same locality. As I have said before, Varāhamihira mentions Malaya and Dardura together. In the *Harṣacaritam* we read 'Mount Malaya is hard by the Dardura rock, whose cave temples

171. JBBRAS, xxiii (1914), 81. 172. Kern, 'op. cit.', p. 89.
173. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, ed. Hall, ii. 128. 174. JASB, 1905, p. 43.
175. 'Bhavabhūti and his place in Sanskrit Literature', Calcutta 1878.
176. 'Rāmāyaṇa' Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, Ch. ii. verse 14. (Nir. ed.). 177. JRAS, 1894, p. 255.

are pleasant with the fragrance of sandal branches tossed by the wind from the southern ocean's waves; and Mahendra joins Malaya.'[178] In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that rich gifts were brought to Yudhiṣṭhira from Malaya and Dardura.[179] From all these passages we find that the two peaks Malaya and Dardura are associated together not only in Kālidāsa's works but in Sanskrit literature generally; so that their prominence in the hilly regions of the south must have been such as easily to attract the attention of observers. I would therefore suggest that Dardura is Dodabetta (meaning 'pig mountain') which is 'the highest peak of the Nilgiri hills and the second highest point south of the Himālayas, standing in 11° 24′ N, 76° 44′ E in the Ootacamund taluk of the Nilgiri district, height 8,760 ft. above the sea'[180]. Malaya, I guess, is the Anaimudi peak in the extreme north-east of Travancore state. It is 8,837 ft. above the sea, and the highest point in Southern India. Again, 'the highest point is Anaimudi peak in Travancore state (8,837 ft.) while Dodabetta in the Nilgiri district reaches 8,760 ft'.[181] I think that Raghu with his armies crossed the Sahya Range or the Western Ghats between these two peaks, and in fact, the well-known Palghat gap which is the only wide opening through the western ghats here, lies between these two peaks. The railway line crosses the Western Ghats here, and Raghu must have crossed them there.

The Mahendra hill mentioned in the *Harṣacaritam* (quoted above) is 'a peak (in the southern portion of the western ghats), 14 miles from Nanguneri, 5,370 ft. high, reputed to be the hill from which the monkey god Hanumāna jumped across the Laṅkā when he went to gather news of Sītā'.[182] The statement that Mahendra joins Malaya is significant, showing that the southern portion of the Western Ghats were also comprised in the word Malaya.

§ 32. Kerala

After crossing the Sahya range, that is, the Western Ghats, Raghu reached the narrow strip of land on the other side, so that it seemed that the sea forming the garments had slipped away from the hips of the earth (R iv. 52). The sea, though a fair distance away from the hills, seemed to be very near, as the intervening space had been filled with the numerous troops of the conqueror, who was bent upon conquering the countries on the western coast extending from Travancore to Surat (R iv. 53). There the first country named by Kālidāsa is Kerala, where the clouds of dust raised by the army of Raghu served as a substitute for the powder employed to decorate the hair by Kerala women who, through fear, flung away their ornaments (R iv. 54). There his soldiers encamped on the banks of the river Kuralā; and two prominent features in the natural scenery of the country are mentioned by him, viz. the abundance of *Ketaka* trees,—the pollen from the flowers of which formed a thick curtain about his army,—and the forests of kingly palms; he also

178. 'Harṣacarita', tr. by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, p. 211.
179. Sabhāparva, Ch. lii. verse 34, (Vaṅg. ed.). 180. 'Imp. Gaz.', (1907).
181. Ib., Vol. v, p. 334 & Vol. xii, p. 215. 182. Ib., Vol. xxiii, p. 362.

mentions the date palms which occur towards the north of the Aparānta country to which we shall come afterwards.

The Keralaka people are mentioned in the south of India in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*[183]. In the *Mahābhārata*, we read that Sahadeva conquered them[184]. We have already quoted the passage where they are shown to have been present in the army of Yudhiṣṭhira with the Colas.

Kerala is mentioned in the 2nd and the 13th rock edicts of Aśoka along with the Pāṇḍyas and others[185].

The Kaurālaks mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta are doubtful. Fleet considers the correct reading to be *Kairalaka,* the people of Kerala[186]. But this country is so far to the south that it is doubtful if Samudragupta's army ever reached there.

In the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭa*, the Sahyagiri or the Western Ghats are mentioned along with Konkan etc. in the south-west[187].

'In its widest signification the name Kerala was applied to the whole territory extending from the Kangarote river, near Goa in North Kanara, to Cape Comorin (*Kumārin*). In its more restricted signification the name applied to the southern portion of the coast, now comprised in the Malabar district, and in the Cochin and Travancore states'[188]. According to the ancient Tamil literatures, the Cera or Kerala kingdom was divided into five provinces or nāḍus[189], occupying the regions mentioned above, though the southern province Venāḍu, comprising the southern portion of Travancore, did at times form a part of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Even at the present day the people of the whole of Kerala comprising the Malabar district and states of Cochin and Travancore are homogenous as we read in the *Imperial Gazetteer :* 'Identical in people, language, laws, customs and climate, the whole of ancient Kerala is homogenous in every respect, except in the accident of a divided political administration'[190].

§ *33. Aparānta*

Kālidāsa uses the word Aparānta in its strictly literal and wide sense. It means the *apara,* i.e. the 'western', and *anta* or 'end' ; therefore *aparānta* means the western ends or the western marches. As such Kālidāsa includes the Kerala country in Aparānta. He mentions Aparānta first when Raghu has just crossed the ghats (R iv. 53) and then he speaks of Kerala as one of the countries included in it. This takes us, as I have shown above, from the extreme south to the neighbourhood of Goa. Then Kālidāsa speaks of the date palms which flourish most in the north, specially in the dry, arid regions of Sindh. Then we find Kālidāsa to speak of the kings of Aparānta as paying tribute to Raghu ; but it should

183. Ch. xiv, verse 12.
184. Sabhāparva, Ch. xxi, verses 69 & 71. (Vaṅg. ed.).
185. EI, ii. 449 & 463.
186. Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions', p. 7, line 19.
187. Bolling & Negelein, 'op. cit.', p. 374-5.
188. JRAS, 1897, p. 867.
189. V. A. Smith, 'Early History' pp. 456-7 (3rd ed).
190. 'Im. Gaz.', xvii. 56.

be further observed that here also he speaks of the sea, which, he says, pays the tribute under the disguise of the Aparānta princes It is, therefore, clear, that he did not mean his Aparanta to extend far inland, but that in this name he included all the country from Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of Kerala to Sindh in the north. This, I think, also explains his mention of Trikūta which is supposed to have been the origin of the name Traikutaka and which has been identified with Tripura or Tripurī, the capital of the Kalacuris, this point, however, is very doubtful Tripurī in central India may be considered to be too far inland to be included in Kālidāsa's Aparānta, but we may observe that his Anūparaja, 'king of the country lying on the sea coast', had his capital far inland at Mahismatī or Mandatta

Dr R G Bhandarkar for the first time identified Aparanta with the western coast He says, 'Aparanta must be the Western coast below the Sahyādri, for Kalidasa represents Raghu, in the fourth canto of the *Raghuvamśam* (śloka 52, 53 & 58) to have crossed the Sahya to conquer that country, and to have, by means of his immense army made the sea to appear 'as if it touched the Sahya Mountain'[191] Dr Bhagavanlal Indraji following him says, 'It corresponds with modern Konkana, the district extending from Gokarna, in the Karwar Collectorate to the Daman Ganga, the frontier river of Gujarat, or perhaps even further north to the Tapi'[192] He quotes in support of his statement a passage from the commentary to the *Kāmasūtra* and a passage in the *Mahābhārata*, where it is asserted that Arjuna visited all the *tirthas* in Aparānta up to Prabhasa in Kathiawar Dr G Buhler in a note also accorded his agreement with this view[193] Pandit Indraji also observes on the authority of the Viśvakosa quoted by Mallinatha that Śūrpāraka or Sopara was its capital, but this is far from satisfactory Dr Burgess also agrees with this view

General A Cunningham, on the evidence offered by the Aparānta coins, shows Aparanta to extend farther north and also to include territories considerably inland Thus he observes—'Aparantika is placed by Varāhamihira in the Western Division of India along with Sindhu Sauvira and Pancanada, or Sindh and the Punjab'[194] He further argues, 'The coins of the Aparantikas, bearing the inscription Apalatasa Mahārajasa, were found chiefly in Rajputana, about Nimach and Ajmer, by Colonel Stacy, while my own specimens have been obtained in North Rajputana and Mathura For these reasons I conclude that the country known as Aparantika or 'West Land', was actually in the West of India, and that it did not extend geographically to the south of the Narbada Politically Sopārā and other places to the south of that river may have been included' But this is not the view of Kālidāsa, as we have shown above Yet, at the same time, it has to be admitted that Cunningham's argument derived from the find of coins has much force Fleet[195] also points out that one of the Aśoka edicts classes the Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Gāndhāras as Aparānta Aparānta is mentioned in a Nasik inscription[196] It occurs in several other inscriptions also Aparānta is mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa* as one of the countries to

191 Transaction of the second session of the International Congress of Orientalists held in September 1874 Ed R K Douglas, London 1876 Page 313 192 IA, vii 259 193 Ib, p 263
194 Coins of Ancient India', p 102 & 103 195 IA, xxii 173 196 EI, viii 60

which a missionary was sent after the Third Buddhist Council[197]. Dr. J. F. Fleet identifies Aparānta with 'the Konkan, with also northern Gujarat, Kathiawad, Cutch, and Sind'[198]. This is much the same as what we have established above as the limits of Aparānta, viz. from Cape Comorin to Sindh.

We have already referred to the *tīrtha* of Gokarṇa in Aparānta. Kālidāsa mentions it as having been visited by Nārada who went there to worship the image of Śiva. (R viii. 33).

Arjuna visited Gokarṇa and all the *tīrthas* in the Aparānta and last of all went to Prabhāsa. We have already referred to it. The sacrificial horse of Yudhiṣṭhira also proceeded from Gokarṇa to Prabhāsa[199]. In the enumeration of Tīrthas in the Vanaparva, Gokarṇa is placed between the Kanyātīrtha, i.e. Cape Comorin, and the Venā river ; and it is said to be situated in the sea[200]. 'Gokarṇa is a town in the Kumta Taluka of North Kanara district, Bombay, 14° 32′ N and 74° 19′ E'[201]. The temple of Mahabaleswar here is a place of pilgrimage now, and contains the Śiva referred to in the above passages.

§ 34. *Anūpa*

The Anūpa country is included in Aparānta or the 'Western Marches'. Anūpa literally means 'the land lying on the sea-coast'. The capital of this country is said by Kālidāsa to have been Māhiṣmatī round the ramparts of which the Revā was like a girdle on the hips, and from the windows of the palaces in which the curling ripples in that river could be seen. From this account of Māhiṣmatī given by Kālidāsa it has been argued by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Fleet that 'this distinctly locates Māhiṣmatī, not on the Narbada, but in the middle of it ; that is, on an island in it. The other statement is in the *Harivaṃśa* in the passage (5218-27) which narrates the founding of the city by Mucukunda......(He) made Māhiṣmatī at the feet of the two mountains, Vindhya and Ṛkṣavat......This latter passage marks a locality where the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges contact the valley, and come close to the river ; that Maheswar does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two statements ; and the place which does satisfy them is the rocky island and village of Māndhātā, now sacred to Śiva, and containing a famous shrine of him as Oṅkāranātha, about 35 to 40 miles up the river, lat. 22° 15′, long 76° 12′, six miles east of 'Barwai' and 7 miles ENE of 'Mortakka', stations on the Malwa section of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway'[202]. This has finally settled the position of Māhiṣmatī. It received support from certain inscriptions. As Dr. Fleet points out, 'The inscriptions on the Māndhātā plates of Paramāra king Devapāla (*Epi. Ind.*, IX, 108) tell us that in A. D. 1225, when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Māhiṣmatī'[203]. Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that at the time of Kālidāsa

197. 'Mahāvaṃśa', ed. Wilhelm Geiger, London 1908, Ch. xii, verses 1-4, 34 & 35.
198. JRAS, 1910, p 427. 199. Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 83, verse 13 (Vaṅg. ed.).
200. Vanaparva, Ch. 85, verses 24 ff. 201. 'Imp. Gaz.', xii. 307. 202. JRAS, 1910. 443.
203. Ib, p. 427.

Māhismati must have been absorbed in Avanti and therefore extinct; and he argues therefrom that our poet's 'description of it and its king in the *Raghuvaṃśam* shows incidentally that in portraying ancient times he did not follow the political geography of his day, but threw his mind back into ancient conditions with very considerable antiquarian knowledge'[204]

The references to Māhismati in Sanskrit and Buddhistic literature and in inscriptions have been given by Dr J Burgess, Mr Pargiter and Dr Fleet[205]. I here give only a few about the Anupa country In the *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, we have *anūpaṛājo durdharṣah* (Ch iv verse 28) In the Śantiparva, (Ch lix, verse 113), we have mention of the *anūpadeśa* Arjuna, Kārtavīryya, is called Anūpapati (Vanaparva, verse 10189) Anūpa is mentioned in the Nasik inscription already quoted in connection with Aparānta

A passage in the *Vāyupurāna* about the origin of the name of the capital Māhismati of the Haihayas does not appear to have been mentioned by any one We read in that *Purana*—

haihayasya tu dayādo dharmatantra iti śrutih // 4
dharmatantrasya kīrtis tu saṃjñeyasya cātmajah /
saṃjñeyasya tu dāyādo mahismannāma pārthivah //[206]

It was after this king Mahismān that the capital was called Māhismati

§ 35. *Pārasikas*

From Sindh which, as we have demonstrated, was included in Aparānta, Kālidāsa leads his hero against the Persians and he expressly states that Raghu here followed the land route in preference, apparently, to the sea route, which then existed between the towns at the mouths of the Indus and the Persian gulf The Greek conqueror, Alexander, had followed both the paths, the land as well as the sea-routes, and the information about both these routes he had derived from the native Indians It is not very difficult to pass into Makran or Baluchistan from Sind, at least it is less difficult to do so than through the passes farther north through the Suleiman Range. He might have passed through the passes of Mula, Mashkat or Bolan or 'the Gandava Basin (opposite Jacobabad in Sind) (Kachhi Gandaya), which opens the way to Quetta '[207] The railway line to Quetta passes here We know also that the Makran was fertile and very thoroughly irrigated in former times, 'it is full of the relics of ancient irrigation works'[208] even to the present day, so that it was not so difficult to march through it Moreover, we are told that from the Persian frontier to Quetta routes may be found which encounter no

204, Ib, p 867
205 'Archæological Survey of Western India—Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawada and Kach', London, 1876, pp 130-1 206 Ch xciv, verses 4 & 5 207 'Im Gaz.', i 7 208 Ib p 6

formidable water partings and cross no difficult passes. It follows also that from Kandahar in Afganistan to the sea southwards equally easy passages are to be found, involving little or none of the constructive difficulties which have ever beset those lines of railway which take the frontier hill formation at right angles, cutting across the axis of the ridges'.[209]

Thus we see why Kālidāsa does not mention any other kingdoms between Aparānta and the land of the Pārasīkas. He makes Raghu return through the north-western route and mount up the Himālayas.

§ 36. *Greeks*

At about the same time as the defeat of the Persians, Kālidāsa mentions the loss of the flush of wine on the lotus-fair faces of *yavanīs* or the ladies of the *yavanas.* These *yavana*-women mean most probably Greek women. There was no great or powerful Greek kingdom at this time, because their power had been suppressed by the *Yueh-chi* in the first century A.D.[210] But the Greeks had held an empire in Bactria and Parthia for several centuries and naturally large numbers of them had settled in those regions and they, being a warlike race, carried their arms to any king that could pay them for their services. The Greeks continued to influence the Kushan coinage and art in Gāndhāra for a long time after they lost their status as an independent and ruling race. The term Yavana is found in the Purāṇas to be used a little loosely, but Varāhamihira[211] and the *Gārgi-saṃhitā* apparently uses the word to mean the Greeks in the well-known passase, which Kern translates as : 'the Greeks are Mlecchas, but amongst them this science is duly established ; therefore even they are honoured as Ṛṣis ; how much more, then, an astrologer who is a Brahmin.'[212] The Gāndhāra school of art influenced by the Graeco-Roman art of the early empire 'reached its highest point of development early in the second century of the Christian era.'[213] It is evident, therefore, that the Greeks were not extinct at the time when Kālidāsa lived, though from the way they are mentioned, it appears clear that they could not have exercised any great power at the time, but that they were known even then as cultured men and warriors seems to be without doubt. Alberuni translates a passage in Brahmagupta, an astronomer later than Varāhamihira, thus : 'Brahmagupta says : Many of the Siddhāntas are Sūrya, others Indu, Pulisa, Romaka, Vaśiṣṭha, and Yavana, i.e. the Greeks'.[214] Alberuni, again, in translating the word '*yavana*' in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (Ch. xiv, verse 18) says, '*yavana* i.e. the Greeks.'[215] McCrindle gives the following note about the *yavanas :* 'The name of Ion, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, had originally the *digamma,* and hence was written as Ivon. The Hebrew transcription of this digammated form is Javan, the name by which Greece is designated in the *Bible*. The Sanskrit transcrip-

209. Ib. p. 8. 210. V. Smith, 'op. cit.', 236. 211. Ch. ii, verse 15.
212. Kern, 'Bṛhat-Saṃhitā', Intro. p. 35. 213. V. Smith, 'op. cit.', 267.
214. Alberuni's 'India', tr. Sachan, Vol. i, p. 153. 215. Ib. p. 302.

tion in *yavana*, the name applied in Indian works to Ionians or Greeks and foreigners generally'[216] Dr Fleet adds to this a further note · 'The thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka speaks of the *yonas*, i e *yavanas* (*Ind Ant* XX pp 239,240,247), and it describes Antiochus II of Syria, as a *yona* (i e *yavana*) king (*ibid*, pp 239, 240 242) The *yavanas* as a tribe are mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (*Arch Sur Westn Ind*, IV, p 109) , and several individual *yavanas* are mentioned in the same series of records (*ibid* pp 90,91,93,94,95,115)'[217]

§ 37 *The Western Nations*

Kalidāsa speaks of the Western people with whom Raghu fought a very fierce battle and who fought with horses (R iv 62) These western people are spoken of as wearing long beards on their faces (R iv 63) and that when they were defeated, they sought Raghu s protection and acknowledged their submission by taking off their helmets (R iv 64) Kālidāsa also tells us that in this country there were rich vineyards where Raghu's soldiers spread the choicest deer skin and relieved themselves of the fatigue of obtaining victory with the wine extracted from grapes (R iv 65)

All these details describe the people living between Kandahar and Kabul and the regions thereabouts After defeating the Persians, Raghu had to meet these fierce warrior tribes living in the ancient land of Gāndhāra and defeat them before he could march up to the north to meet the Hūnas on the banks of the Oxus These regions have been noted for their plentiful growth of fruits, specially grapes We read in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, 'South of Kabul, beyond the basin of the Kabul river, there are many extensive valleys teeming with villages and highly cultivated The great (and almost level) highroad from Kabul to Kandahar passes through a fairly rich country, a land of irrigated fields and green pastures The valleys of Chardeh, Maidan, Wardak and Kohistan are visions of luxuriant beauty in the fruit ripening months of Northern Afghanistan'[218] Kālidāsa does not mention in particular the name of any people or nation, because this hinterland was at his time a no man's land where Greek, Persian, Yueh chi, Saka, and Hun measured their swords very often, and one after another fresh hordes of conquerors were pouring through it All the ancient landmarks had been removed and these pastures and vineyards[219] were enjoyed by the people with the mightiest arms for the time being But whoever held these rich valleys must have been very powerful in wielding arms and offered a strong resistance to any intruder They were not the people to adopt the 'way of the cane creepers'

The horses of these regions were famous in India and much prized In the *Mahābharata* we have again and again the mention of horses obtained from Gāndhāra, Kamboja, Vanāyu, Āratta etc , on and beyond the north-western borders of India[220]

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216 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great', p 122, note 1 217 IA, xxii, 194-5

218 Imp Gaz.' Vol i pp 13-14

219 The grapes of these regions, of Kabul and Kandahar were very well known in India at the time of Akbar 'Ain i Akbari translated by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol i, p 65

220 'Mahābhārata', Bhiṣmaparva, Ch 71, Anuśāsanaparva, Ch 103, Karnaparva, Ch 7, 44,

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also we meet with a mention of the good horses of these countries.[221] Ayodhyā is spoken of as full of best horses like these. Kālidāsa himself makes a mention of the horses of Vanāyu (R v. 72), Mallinātha explains by quoting Halāyudha that Vanāyu is Persia. In the Vācaspatya Dictionary, Vanāyu is said to mean Arabia, and that the horses referred to are Arab horses. In the *Harśacaritam*, we read 'He next beheld a stable filled with the king's favourite horses from Vanāyu, Āraṭṭa, Kamboja, Bharadvāja, Sindh and Persia.'[222] In the *Amarakoṣa* we have in the chapter Nāmaliṅgānaśāsanam—'Vanāyujāḥ pārasīkāḥ kāmboja vāhlika hayāḥ'. In one of the Ajanta frescoes, we have a picture where a group of foreigners are seen at the court of an Indian king, apparently come there with a message from a foreign prince ; they are marked by their long beards, and their horses are shown in the picture. Fergusson considered it to represent a Persian embassy. I quote from Griffiths' *Ajanta*: 'The subject of this picture was supposed, by the late Fergusson, to be an Iranian embassy sent by Khasru II of Persia (A.D. 591-628) to Pulakeśi II (A.D. 609-640) of Maharastra, whose capital was probably at Badami in South Kaladgi. Tabari, the Arabic historian, gives clear evidence of close relations between the two kings. The date would be about A.D. 625. Fergusson says, with regard to the members of the embassy, that they "are Persians is nearly certain from their complexion and general appearance, as well as from their costume, which is carefully contrasted with those of the Indians in the same picture (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., Vol XI, p.105)". Whoever they were, they certainly were a people who inhabited the countries west of the Indus and south of Hindukush and who reached their destination on horseback, for their horses are shown in the picture.'[223] There are three of these men with outlandish costumes and appearance and they all wear beards.

Dr. T. Bloch thus comments on these passages of Kālidāsa : 'The jump (from Aparānta to Persia) seems big, and one asks oneself involuntarily wherefore Raghu travelled over the country from Bombay to Persia by the land-route ; the sea-route, which we would at the present day take, should surely have been more acceptable. We must, nevertheless, bear in mind that at the time when Samudragupta extended his sway over west India, there actually ruled and were overthrown by him princes of western descent whom he includes in the Allahabad inscription (line 23) under the names : Daivaputra, Śāhi, Śahāmuṣāhi, Śaka and Muruṇḍa. And that Kālidāsa knew of these foreign princes a little more than their names, we perceive not only from verse 63, where he alludes to their custom of wearing beards, even further also from the verse 64, where we read about them that they took down their helmets as a token of their overthrow by Raghu. That was a western custom which was later revived in India by the Muhammadans. I believe it is impossible for any one to shut his eyes to such agreement. Kālidāsa drew up his descriptions of the people conquered by Raghu and their customs and usage on the basis of more living observation,

221. 'Rāmāyaṇa', Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. vi, verse 22 (Nir. Ed.).
222. 'Harṣacaritam' tr. Cowell and Thomas, p. 50.
223. Griffiths, 'The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta', London 1896, Vol. i, p. 23.

and his knowledge thereof he owed to the campaigns of Samudragupta which had brought nearer those lands distant from Āryāvartta proper and their inhabitants'[224]

§ 38 *Hūnas*

Our poet says that after vanquishing the western races, Raghu marched towards the north (R iv 66) extirpating the northern tribes Then his horses, which had relieved the fatigue of their journey by rolling about on the bank of the Vanksu (the Oxus), shook their shoulders to which were attached the filaments of saffron (R iv 67) There the exploits of Raghu made the ladies in the harems of the Hunas gash their foreheads, on account of their husbands having felt the power and been slaughterd by the mighty conqueror (R iv 68)

From the valleys of Kandahar and Kabul, Raghu marched towards the north, extirpating the tribes who stood on his way, marching through the passes of the Hindukush in which 'there are several depressions across which comparatively easy byways connect the north and south The most famous of all the Hindukush passes (historically) is that which is said to derive its name Hindukusht, or "dead Hindu", from the fate which once befell a Hindu force on its summit, and which is but of a group leading from the Oxus basin to Kabul This has indeed been a veritable highway of the nations'[225]

In the verses that follow (R iv 67) I have accepted the readings of Vallabha whose texts are more reliable and older by several centuries than those of Mallinātha who reads here *sindhutiravicestanaih* and *kapolapātalādeśi* in place of *vanksutiravicestanaih* and *kapolapātanādeśi* Vallabha s is 'the earliest known scholium on Kālidāsa[226] Hultzsch in his edition of *Meghadūtam* with the commentary of Vallabhadeva, observs 'What renders them *specially valuable to us is the fact that they represent the text of* Kalidasa and Māgha *as it* was current in Kashmir about A D 900[227] That Vallabha's text is far superior to and purer than that of Mallinatha has been amply illustrated in the case of *Meghadūtam* 'Vallabhadeva s text contains only 111 stanzas or 10 fewer than Mallinatha's' 'The table on pages XV to XIX shows that Vallabhadeva's text omits all the verses which were considered as spurious by Stenzler, while all the other recensions (with the exception of the Vidyullata) exhibit several of them In the remarks on No XIV of the Appendix, I have demonstrated that Vallabhadeva, the Vidyullata and Gildemeister are right in excluding also the verse *āśvāsyaivam* etc which did not appear suspicious to Stenzler and others The secluded position of that home of Saravati, the Kashmir valley would account for the fact that Kalidasa s work was there handed down in a purer condition to the time of Vallabhadeva, who may have had no cognizance of the corruptions which had already crept into the text on the other side of the snowy range in the time of Jinasena'[228]. The com-

224 Die Zeit Kalidasas von T Bloch ZDMG, lxii, p 675 225 Imp Gaz', i 12

226 Macdonell in JRAS, 1913, p 176-7 227 Hultzsch, 'Meghdūtam', London 1911, p xii

228 Ib

parative purity of Vallabha's text that has thus been fully demonstrated in the case of the *Meghadūtam* applies with equal force to his text of the *Raghuvaṃśam* as well, and it would unquestionably be an error to follow Mallinātha, a commentator of the 14th century and a south Indian where Vallabha, his predecessor by several centuries has a clearly distinct text. Let us now examine the text of Vallabha. G. R. Nandargikar notes in his edition of the *Raghuvaṃśam*: *sindhutīraviceṣṭanaiḥ*—for this Cāritravardhana, Vallabha, Sumativijaya, Dinakara and Dharmameru read either *vaṅkū* or *vaṅkṣūtīraviceṣṭanaiḥ*. In the next verse also his manuscripts 'C.D.E.H.I.R. with Cāritravardhana, Vallabha, Sumativijaya and Dharmameru *pāṭanādeśi* for *pāṭalādeśi*. In S. P. Pandit's edition of the *Raghuvaṃśam* Vallabha reads *vaṅkṣū* and explains *vaṅkṣū nāmnī nadī, tasyās tīre*. 'Four Deccan college (Poona) manuscripts of the *Raghuvaṃśam* read *vaṅkū* and two read *vaṅkṣū*'[229]. No doubt the reading *vaṅkṣū* represents the more correct form. 'Kṣīrasvāmī, the well-known commentator on the *Amarakoṣa*, who belongs to the second half of the eleventh century, explains *vāhlīkaja* (K. G. Oka's edition of the Kṣīrasvāmī, p. 110) meaning saffron. Kṣīrasvāmī here gives *vālhīkaja* as a synonym of *kumkuma* and as an illustration quotes the line from the *Raghuvaṃśam*. It is evident that saffron was considered as a product of Vāhlika country or Bactria where the river Vaṅsu was. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains *vakṣu*, as mentioned in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, as the Oxus and he explains *vaṅkṣu* as 'an arm of or branch of the Ganges, W. ; the Oxus (*Mahābhārata ; Pur.*)'. He has not given any authority for his first meaning of *vaṅkṣu* and apparently the second meaning is the more natural and preferable. H. H. Wilson also renders *vaṅkṣu* or *vakṣu* as the Oxus[230]. The philological equivalent of *vakṣu* would of course be Oxus, the nasal sound has no doubt crept in by error. In the map of Central Asia attached to M. Chavanne's work on the Turks, the largest tributary of the Oxus is named 'Sourkhab or Wakhsch'. The famous Arab Geographer Idrisi calls the Oxus the Wakhsh-ab. There is not the least doubt, therefore, that the Vaṅkṣu is the Oxus. In verse 68, we have a reference to the practice of the Hūṇa women to gash their foreheads etc. as a sign of mourning. Nandgirkar quotes Cāritravardhana and Sumativijaya who explain: *hūṇayoṣitaḥ kucakapolavidāraṇapūrvam rudantīti taddeśācāraḥ*.

Yuan Chwang remarks about the people between China and India : 'They flay the face and cut off their ears', as a sign of mourning[231]. Watters in his comments shows that similar customs were actually prevalent in some of the Central Asian tribes.

From what we have said above, there can be no doubt that the poet makes his hero meet the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus and not on the Indus, as Mallinātha would have us believe. M. Chavanne in his great work on the Turks has shown from a consideration of original Chinese records that the Ephthalites or white Huns had acquired great power in the basin of the Oxus towards the middle of the fifth century and, in the year 484, their king Akhschounwar defeated the Sassanid Emperor Pirrouz of Persia, and that it was the family

229. IA, xli. 266. 230. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Hall's ed., Vol. ii, p. 12.

231. Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. i, p. 40.

name of this doughty hero of the Huns, that this branch of their race was called in later times the Ephthalites[232]

The river Vanksu and the abundance of saffron on its banks is mentioned in the Nagpur Stone Inscription of the rulers of Malava, describing the conquests of Laksmanadeva in the North Kielhorn translátes it 'Being encamped on the banks of the Vanksu which were even softer than nature made them, because the saffron filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the team of frisky horses, presented by the Turuska whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvati was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage'[233]

Mm Haraprasad Shastri has accepted the reading of Mallinatha and has very ably demonstrated his views following from that reading in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol II, part I, pp 834 37

§ 39 *Kāmbojas*

After vanquishing the Hūnas on the banks of the Oxus and specially its tributary the Wakhsch, Raghu turned towards the Himalayas But for this purpose, he did not march southwards but entered Kashmir through the north western passes of Hindukush, about the wilds of Kafiristan, and then through Chitral and Gilgit He passed, it seems, through the northern borders of the ancient kingdom of Udjana Kalidasa then places his Kāmboja country in the regions just to the north and west of, and perhaps including, the Swat velley, the su po fa su tu (*Śubhavastu*) of Yuan Chwang[234] , that is, to the north west of the place where Indus bends towards the south Yuan Chwang says that in this country 'grapes were abundant, the country produced saffron', characteristics of the neighbouring country referred to by Kalidāsa Yuan Chwang says 'there were dense woods and fruits and flowers were luxuriant', and it may very well include the *ankola* or walnut trees of the *Raghuvamsam* (R iv 69) Yuan Chwang also says 'the country produced gold and iron', and we are told by Kalidāsa that the Kambojas presented Raghu with high heaps of gold (R iv 70) We have already spoken of the good horses of Kāmboja

Yuan Chwang relates that 'their spoken language was different from, but bore much resemblance to, that of India', and Beal translates the same passage, 'Their language, though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India' This agrees with what Yaska in his *Nirukta*[235] speaks about the language of the Kāmbojas The original sense of the root *sava* to go, is used in the language of the Kāmbojas while its derivative *śava* is spoken by the Aryan people Dr Grierson comments 'The Kāmbojas, a barbarous tribe of north western India, either spoke Sanskrit with an infusion of Eranian

232 Documents sur les Jou Kine (Turcs) Occidentaux recueillis et commentarés avec une carte par E Chavarenes St Petersburg 1903, pp 222 223 233 EI ii 194 234 Watters, 'op cit', i 225-6
235 Nirukta ii 2

words, to which they gave Indian inflections, or else spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Eranian'[236].

The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Gāndhāras together as all belonging to the Uttarāpatha[237]. There are many other passages in which the Yavanas and Kāmbojas are joined together. The *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* speaks also of the Bactrians, Yavanas and Kāmbojas together with the Śakas and Gāndhāras[238].

The Yavanas, Śakas, Gāndhāras, the Bactrians are all well-known to be the tribes in close neighbourhood to the north-west of India and the Kāmbojas also belong to the same region. As regards the Madras, we have the evidence of the *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa* of the Vedas. Keith and Macdonell write in their *Vedic Index :* 'The Kāmbojas were later settled to the north-west of the Indus and are known as Kambujiya in the old Persian inscriptions. A teacher, Kāmboja Aupamayava, pupil of Madragāra, is mentioned in the *Vaṃśa Brāhmāṇa*. This points to a possible connection of the Madras, or more probably the Uttara Madras, with the Kāmbojas, who probably had Iranian as well as Indian affinities'[239]. It will be seen that these two learned Vedic scholars place the Kāmbojas from a consideration of the Vedic texts, in the same regions as that where I have located them from an examination of Kālidāsa's statements.

From this Kāmboja country Raghu at once mounts up the Himālayas, as he can very well do by crossing the Indus. I have already dealt with the achievements of Raghu on the Himālaya Mountain. Now it remains to be determined where he came down from the hills.

The poet says that Raghu planted his glory firm on the Himālaya and then came down from the Himālaya as if putting the Kailāsa mountain to shame, as it had been uplifted by Paulastya Rāvaṇa (R iv. 80).

I think this verse clearly indicates the place where Raghu came down from the mountains. He says distinctly that he descended putting the Kailāsa to shame, that is, after proceeding as far as the place from where the Kailāsa could be seen or from where it might be expected that he might march towards Kailāsa. This signifies that Raghu came down through the pass by which Yakṣa instructed the cloud-messenger to proceed towards Kailāsa. This was the path also which Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers followed when going to Kaliāsa, as I have already shown in connection with the *Kirātas*.

§. 40. *Kāmarūpa*

We are told that Raghu came down from the Himālaya after casting a look of scorn at Kailāsa, and then proceeded towards the country of the *Kāmarūpas*, which he reached after crossing the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra, which formed the

236. JRAS, 1911, p. 801   237. Śantiparva, Ch. 207, verse 43 (Vaṅg ed.).
238. Bolling & Negelein, 'op. cit.', p. 378. cf. also pp. 344-45.   239. Vedic Index. i, p. 138.

boundary on the west of the kingdom Kālidāsa calls it Prāgjyotisa and the people he calls the *Kāmarūpas* In this country he mentiones the *agalocana* (kālāguru druma R iv 81), which forms a characteristic product of it The lord of the Kāmarūpas had withstood other invaders of his kingdom with the help of his elephants, but now he had to offer these very elephants as presents to Raghu Elephants are still caught in Assam by *the British Government*

About the two names of Kāmarūpa and Prāgjyotisa, we may refer to the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva, king of Kāmarūpa, by which are granted two villages in the *visays* of *badā*, in the *mandala* of Kāmarūpa, in the *bhukti* of Prāgjyotisa[240]

Kālidāsa again introduces the king of Kāmarūpa as an intimate friend of Raghu's son, Aja, who at the time of his marriage, is said to have come down from the back of the elephant in the procession by putting his hand into that of the lord of the Kāmarūpas (R vii 17)

Samudragupta's Allahabad Inscription places Kāmarūpa among the frontier kingdoms[241] The boundary of Kāmarūpa was sometimes driven farther to the west than the Brahmaputra were Kalidāsa places it Yuan Chwang relates that on his way to Kāmarupa from Pundravardhana he 'crossed a large river'[242] In the *Tang-shu* or the Chinese history of the Tang dynasty this kingdom has been described as 'lying 600 *li* to the south-east of Pundravardhana with the river *kā lo tu* between that country and Kāmarūpa'[243] This Kalotu indicates Karatoyā as the river forming this boundary

Yuan Chwang speaks of the 20,000 elephants of the king of Kāmarūpa who went to Harsavardhana with them[244].

Kamarūpa is mentioned in the *Atharva Parisista* as belonging to the north-east [245].

§ 41 *Mālava - Avanti and Daśārna*

The king of Avantī is mentioned among the kings present at the *svyamvara* of the princess of Vidarbha Of this kingdom Kālidasa mentions here only two particulars, viz

240 Ep Ind , ii, p 358

241 Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions', p 8

242 Watters, 'op cit ', i, p 185

243 Ibid, p 186

244 Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p 172

245 Bolling & Negelein, 'op cit ', Pariśista, lvi. 1. 10

that not far from his palace was the temple of Mahākāla, and that the trees in the gardens of the king were made to tremble by the breezes cooled by the ripples of the river Śiprā. These two details serve to locate the capital at Ujjain. The Mahākāla spoken of by Kālidāsa here is the same as the Mahākāla mentioned in his *Meghadūtam* as being in Ujjayinī[246]. This image of Śiva is also referred to in the Nāndī, 'the prologue', of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacritam* as Kālapriyanātha on the occasion of one of whose festivities the drama was going to be acted. The Śiprā is a river which 'rises in Malwa, twelve miles south-east of Indore, winds past Ujjain and enters the Chambal near Kalu Kheri village'[247]. The temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī is mentioned many times in Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Kādamvarī* e. g.: asti bhagavatā mahākālābhiahānema bhuvanatrayasargasthiti-saṃhārakāriṇā pramathanāthenevāpareva pṛthivī samutpāditā...bhagavato mahākālasya-śirasi surasaritamālokyopajāterṣyayeva satataṃ samābaddhataraṃgabhṛkuṭilekhayā khamiva kṣālayantyā śiprayā parikṣittā...avantiṣūjjayinī nāma nagarī[248].

'The site of the temple of Mahākāla is still shown outside the ruins of the town'[249]. This town of Ujjayinī is also called Viśāla 'the city of wide extent' (Me I. 30).

In the *Daśakumāracaritam* we have viśālopaśalye. Hemacandra gives Viśālā as a synonym for Ujjayinī : ujjayinī syādviśālāvantī puṣpakaraṇḍinī. The Śiprā is referred to in *Meghadūtam*, I. 31. Then he refers to the temple of Caṇḍeśvara.

In the neighbourhood of Ujjayinī there is another capital that Kālidāsa mentions viz. Vidiśā. We have already referred to it, as the capital at which Subāhu, one of the sons of Śatrughna, was placed (R xv. 36). It is mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (iv) as the capital of Agnimitra, who is called the 'Lord of Vidiśā'. The gardens on the bank of the Vidiśā are also referred to (v. 1).

His father writes to him that he embraces his son, the long-lived Agnimitra, from Vidiśā abroad and delivers a message (Act. v).

In the *Meghadūtam*, Kālidāsa speaks of Vidiśā as the capital of the Daśārṇas and situated on the bank of the Vetravatī. This Vetravatī is the Betwa which 'rises in the Bhopal state at the village of Kumri (22° 25″ N and 77° 43″ E) and flows in a north-east direction, through Gwalior, and falls into that Jumna close to the town of Hamirpur'[250]. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa also says in the *Kādambarī*[251] : vetravatyā parigatā vidiśābhidhāna nagarī rājadhānyāsīt.

This town is identified with Besnagar ; Bhīlsā in its neighbourhood was also certainly united with it in former times, and the two together formed a large and wide city. It is

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246. Al-beruni says about Ujain, 'The idol worshipped there is called Mahākāla'. Sachau, i, p. 202.
247. 'Imp. Gaz.', xxiii, p. 14.
248. Kādamvarī, (NSP. ed.), pp. 98, 101, 104.
249. Ib., Tr. Cowell, p. xvi.
250. 'Imp. Gaz.', v.
251. NSP. ed., pp. 11-12,

rather peculiar that the two famous capitals should have existed so much in the neighbourhood of each other In a passage in the commentary of Vātsyayana's *Kāmasūtra* (Adhikarana 3) we read ujjyinī deśabhavāsta evaparamalavyah mālavya iti purvamālavadhavah[252] Western Malava is here called Ujjayini and the eastern Malava is Malava properly so called So great was the difference in usage and practice in these two parts of Malwa that their coins vary from each other in a very marked way Cunningham observs, 'That they (Ujain and Besnagar) were usually independent states is shown by a most marked difference in their money, the coins of Ujain being invariably round pieces, while those of Besnagar and Eran are nearly all round Both districts belong to Malavas (*mālavān* of the early coins) and must once have been confederated, as they gave their name to the "era of the Malavas", which is now known as the Vikrama Samvat, or era of Vikramaditya'[253]

About the god Mahakala, so much spoken of by Kalidasa Cunningham says, 'No 6 (of the Ujjain coins) has a three headed standing figure, which is probably intended for the Bhahmanical god, Mahakala, who had a famous temple at Ujain The idol worshipped at Ujain as Mahākala was carried to Delhi by the Muhammadan conqueror Il tut mish, and there broken to pieces in front of the great mosque The figure on the coins seems to hold club in one hand, and a water vessel in the other, both of which symbols are characteristic of Śiva The coin may, therefore, be accepted as a single evidence of Brahminism at Ujain[254]

Among the votive inscriptions at the Sāñcī stupas, there are many which record the gifts of the citizens of Vidiśa and Ujjain, either collectively or individually One of these records the gift of the ivory workers of Vidiśā vedisakā damtakara[255]

This, no doubt, indicates that these artisans formed a guild I quote another instance from Ujjayini ujeniya vākiliyānā dānam—'the gift of the Vakiliyas, from Ujjain[256]

It would seem that the inhabitants of Ujjain and Vidiśa (with the people of some other places such as Māhismatī, the capital of the Anupa country, 'defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two stupas, the lion's share falling to Ujain which is mentioned 35 times[257]

The story of Udayana referred to by Kalidāsa in *Meghadūtam* (I 30) is given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva But Kalidasa must have learnt it from the original source,

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252 I A, vii, p 259

253 This is the mālavaganasthiti over which there has lately been so much discussion between Fleet, Thomas, Bhandarkar and others

254 Cunningham, 'op cit.', p 98

255 Ep Ind ii, p 96

256 Ibid, p 100

257 Ibid, p 369

viz. the *Bṛhatkathā*, of which Somadeva admits to have given an abridged translation in his book. It is alluded to in the *Malatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti and forms the pith of the story of *Vāsavadattā* by Subandhu.

§ 42 *The Route of the Cloud-Massenger*

The Yakṣa who sends the cloud with the message to his wife was according to Kālidāsa at Rāmagiri which is identified by Wilson with Rāmṭek or 'Rāmṭenkdi', which in Marathi means the same thing as Rāmagiri, 'Rāma's hill'. This hill forms the western extremity of the small Ambagarh range and is rather detached from it. Round the foot of the hill lies the town of Rāmṭek in 21° 24′ N and 79° 20′ E, 24 miles north-east of Nagpur city by ṛoad and 13 miles from Ralwa Railway station. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri indentifies Rāmagiri with Rāmgarh in the Sarguja district[258].

This hill of Rāmagiri is, according to Kālidāsa, imprinted with the footprints of Rāma on its sides., In verse I. 13, he begins to instruct the cloud about the route to be followed by him. The cloud is to start towards north (Me. I. 14) and he is first of all to get up the Mālakṣetra, the high plateau containing the *mār* or the black cotton soil. 'The plateau of Malwa is mainly composed of a vast spread of basaltic rock, which forms great rolling downs, dotted over with flat topped hills. The country is highly fertile, being principally covered by the soil here called *mār* or *kālī* by the natives, and black cotton soil by Europeans'[259]. It is the high level fields that Kālidāsa here refers to, specially those containing the *mār* or the black cotton soil. Vallabhadeva in his commentary explains : mālamuḍḍāraṃ kṣetram : *uḍḍāra* means 'an alluvial plateau' as translated by Hultzsch[260] who compares in this connection *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by Stein, vol. ii, p. 425f.

Next the poet takes the cloud to 'the hill with the slopes full of mango trees' (I. 17) on which there were ripe mangoes at the time (on the first day of Āṣāḍha). It is the hill or rather the plateau of Amarakaṇṭak (22° 41′ N and 81° 48′ E), at the north-eastern apex of the Satpura range, in Rewah (Central India)[261]. From a small tank at the top, 3,000 feet above the sea, the river Narmadā, (or Narbadā) issues and follows a course of 801 miles to fall into the sea below Broach. cf. *Vāyupurāṇam*, ch. 77.4 & 13 (Ananda. ed.), and *Padmapurāṇam*, Ādikāṇḍa, ch. xiii. 8.

Then the poet describes the Revā or the Narmadā, a thin stream flowing by the foot,

258. 'Imp. Gaz.', 1907.

259. Ib., xvii. 99.

260. Meghadūtam, Tr. Hultzsch, p. 11.

261. 'Imp. Gaz.', xix. 375.

of the Vındhya, after ıt comes down from the top of Amarakantak (I 19) The Vındhya ıs mentıoned ın most of the works of Kālıdāsa (*Raghuvamśam* vı 61, xıı 31, xıv 8, xvı 31, *Rtusamhāram* ıı 27)

Then the cloud ıs to pass from hıll to hıll and then to reach the country of the Daśarnas, whıch ıs dark wıth the rıpe berrıes of the *jambu* and whıch ıs frequented by the swans only for a very few days (I 23) The berrıes (*jambu*) of course rıpen about thıs perıod everywhere ın Indıa About the mıgratory habıts of the geese, I have spoken ın detaıl whıle dealıng wıth the Mānasasarovara

The word Daśarna means 'the country of the ten cıtadels' It ıs mentıoned ın the *Ramāyana* (Nır xlı 10 11)

In the Kuruksetra war the Daśārnas fought on the sıde of Duryodhana[262] They were vanquıshed by Bhıma ın the east and also by Nakula ın the west The capıtal of the Daśārnas (wıth the rıver Betwa on whıch ıt stands), whıch the poet descrıbes next, has been already dealt wıth ın the sectıon 'Malwa—Avantı and Daśarna'

At Vıdıśa, the cloud may rest on the hıll named Nīcaıh, a hıllock of lıttle ımportance 'most lıkely the Sañchī of modern maps'[263] The Sāroddharını commentary explaıns[264] kharvanamanam vāmanagırım kharvadhıthanam etc Then (I 26) he leads the cloud by the gardens on the banks of the *Vananadı*, thıs may be eıther a petty streamlet or ıt may sımply mean 'a rıver flowıng through a forest' as Vallabha explaıns, but ıt ıs more lıkely a partıcular rıver, because the beds of jessamıne flowers are not lıkely to grow ın forests The poet also speaks of 'the women pluckıng the flowers' (I 26) It ıs, therefore, a small stream Wılson[265] would ıdentıfy ıt wıth the Parbatī, whıch flows between the Betwa and the Śıpra

Now the poet makes the Yaksa apologıse to the cloud and request hım to turn a a lıttle from hıs straıght path towards the west, to make a detour (I 27) so as to ınclude the cıty of Ujjayınī, whıch must have been very dear to the heart of the poet Tradıtıon also joıns Kalıdāsa wıth Ujjayınī Between Vıdıśa and Ujjayınī, ı e between the Betravatī or Betwa and the Śıpra, Kalıdasa mentıons two other streams There are many water-courses ın the regıons and these N rvındhyā and the Sındhu belong to them These two have been ıdentıfied wıth the Parvātī and the Kalı Sındh respectıvely[266]

Reachıng Ujjayınī or Vıśala the poet speaks of the Śıpra upon whıch stands the temple of Candeśvara and the rıver Gandhavatī and Mahakāla The Gandhavatī, whıch was a fine stream at the tıme of Kalıdasa has now shrunk to a mere draın, as Mahamaho-

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262 Bhısmaparva, lı

263 JBORS, Vol ı pt 2, p 202

264 Quoted by Nandargıkar, Me notees, p 29

265 Wılson 'Me, 2 ed, 1843, p 26

266. JBORS, Vol ı, pt 2, p 202

padhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, who has carefully gone over these parts of the country with the express object of identifying the geographical names given by Kālidāsa, observs[267]. He says about the Gandhavatī, 'That river does not exist at the present moment. In Kālidāsa's time it formed the boundary of the temple gardens of Mahākāla. I had to go twice to Ujjain and dive into the *Ujjain-Māhātmya,* before I could discover that what was a beautiful small stream in Kālidāsa's time is now a drain running through the heart of the modern city. The stream, if it can be so called now, takes its rise from the Gomukh Tekri just behind the college and falls in the Śiprā at a place just behind the temple of Gandheśvara Śiva'.

Leaving Ujjain, Kālidāsa speaks of the river Gambhīrā which is a very small stream, hardly deserving the name of a river. Along the side of the Gambhīrā he would lead the cloud to a certain distance and then take him to Devagiri on which the God Skanda dwells. This is 'a hill scarcely 200 feet high', on the side of which there is a small temple of Khandera even now worshipped by the Ahirs ; the name of this, if turned into Sanskrit, would become Skandarāja[268]. Then the poet makes the cloud cross the Carmaṇvatī or the Chambal and again makes him deviate from the direct route in order to reach Daśapura, or Mandasor. It is at present the headquarters of the district of Mandasor in Gwalior state in Central India (24° 4′ N and 75° 5′ E) on the bank of the Siwana (Seuna or Sau) river, a tributary of the Śiprā[269]. From Daśapura Kālidāsa passes straight towards the north and through the country of Brahmāvarta, well known from the oft-quoted passage of Manu (ii. 17). He next stops at the Kaurava Kṣetra or Kurukṣetra, the place where Arjuna drenches the faces of kings with showers of arrows at the site of the great battle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas. Kurukṣetra was praised very highly in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana. lxxxii. 1 & 4 ; Vang. Ed.).

Then the cloud may cross the river Sarasvatī and get up the Himālayas near Kanakhala and passing through what Kālidāsa calls 'the door for geese, the path through the Krauñca mountain' (I. 50), he may reach Kailāśa, the Mānasasarovara, and the Ganges flowing round the Kāilāsa mountain. This last portion of the journey from Kanakhala, I have already dealt with in speaking of the Himālaya and the trans-Himalayan regions. It only remains to add a note about the river Sarasvatī famed in Sanskrit literature since the time of the Vedas.

Kālidāsa refers to the Sarasvatī in other places also : 'Like the river Sarasvatī with its water underground.' (R iii. 9). The Sarasvatī is a river in the Punjab rising in Sirmur state close to the borders of the Ambālā District. It debouches on the plains at Adh Badi ; a place held sacred by all Hindus. A few miles further on it disappears into the sand, but comes up again about three miles to the south at the villages of Bhawanipur.

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267. Ib.

268. Ib. p. 203.

269. 'Imp. Gaz.', xvii. 150.

At Balchhapur it again vanishes for a short distance, but emerges once more and flows on in a south westerly direction across Karwar until it joins the Ghaggar in Patiala territory after a course of about 110 miles'[270].

270. Ib. xxii. 97.